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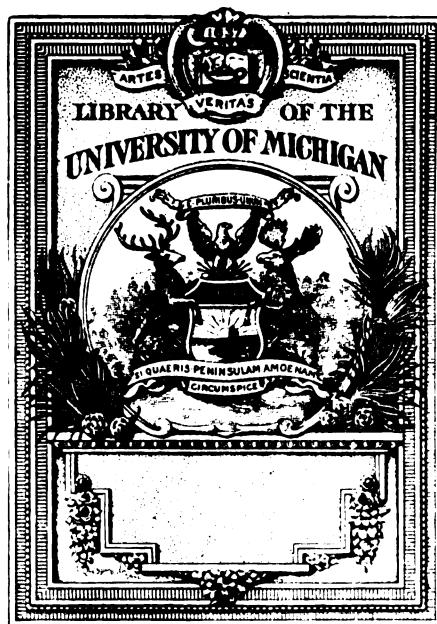
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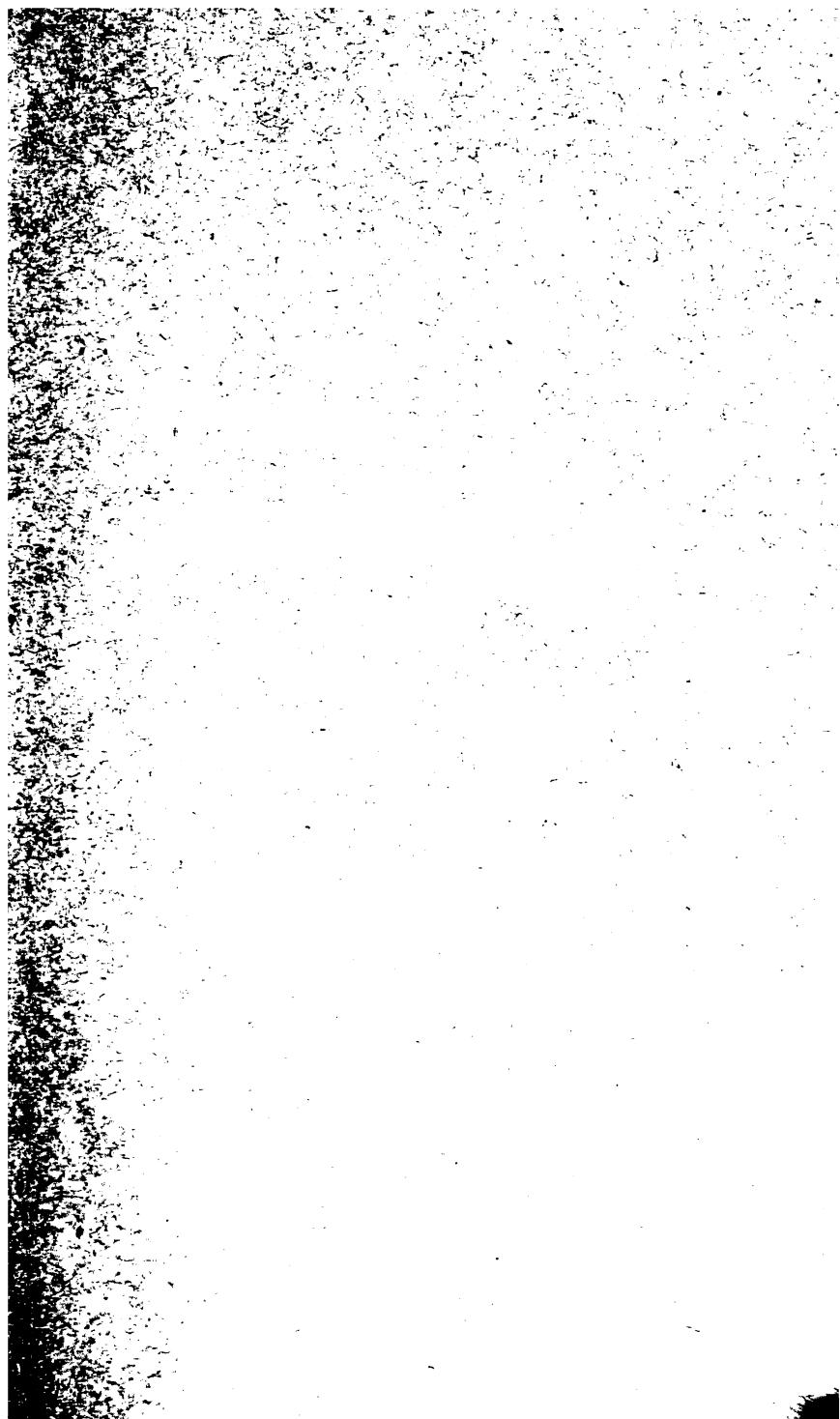
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THE

H I S T O R Y,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

VOL. II.



DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

M.DCC.XCIII.

1743





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THE
HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK IV.
PRESENT INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

Summary accounts of the Inhabitants of the several Islands.—Classes.—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.—Predominant character of the European residents.—Creoles or Natives.—Effect of climate.—Character of the Creole Women and Children.—Of the people of Colour, and their different tribes or casts.—Limitations and restrictions on the Mulattoes and native Blacks of free condition.—Their character at length, concluding with an Ode to the Sable Venus.

THE present state of the population in the CHAP. British West Indies appears, on a summary of the I. several accounts given in a former part of this work, to be as follows, viz.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK IV.	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica	30,000	250,000
Barbadoes	16,167	62,115
Grenada	1,000	23,926
St. Vincent	1,450	11,853
Dominica	1,236	14,967
Antigua	2,590	37,808
Montserrat	1,300	10,000
Nevis	1,000	8,420
St. Christopher's	1,900	20,435
Virgin Isles	1,200	9,000
Bahamas	2,000	2,241
Bermudas	5,462	4,919
Total	65,305	455,684

There is likewise, in each of the Islands, a considerable number of persons, of mixed blood, and Native Blacks, of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have shewn, at 10,000; and I have reason to believe they do not fall short of the same number in all the other Islands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great classes.— 1. European Whites; 2. Creole or Native Whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free Native Blacks; 4. Negroes in a state of slavery. I shall treat of each class separately; premising, however, that there are persons not comprehended in either class; such as emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almost every privilege possessed by the Christian Whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections, of being returned to serve in the assembly, and of holding any office of magistracy; but they have the liberty of purchasing and holding lands, as freely as any other people; and they are likewise allowed the public exercise of

of their religion; for which purpose they have CHAP.
erected two or more synagogues; and I have not I.
heard that Jamaica has had any reason to repent
of her liberality towards them. As, however,
they differ but little in manners and customs from
the rest of their nation which are dispersed in all
the countries of Europe, I shall pass them by,
without further detail. The other White In-
habitants, not comprehended in this enumeration,
are too few to merit particular notice *.

It may reasonably be supposed that most of the
natives of Europe who emigrate to the West In-
dies, remove thither in the hopes of receiving
greater encouragement to their abilities and indu-
stry than has offered at home. Yet let it not be
imagined that the major, or even any considerable
part of them, are desperate and needy adventurers,
who seek refuge from a prison, or expatriate
themselves in the fond idea of living luxuriously
without labour. These Islands give but little
countenance to idleness, nor offer any asylum to

* The following account of the White Inhabitants, Free-
Negroes, and Slaves, in the French West Indies, may serve to
gratify curiosity. It is taken from the authority of Mons.
Neckar; but I have reason to think that the Negro Slaves are
nearly doubled in the French Islands since this account was
taken.

	Whites.	Free Blacks, &c.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779	32,650	7,055	249,098
Martinico, in 1776 -	11,619	2,892	71,268
Guadaloupe, in 1779 -	13,261	1,382	85,327
St. Lucia, in 1776 -	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago, supposed to be nearly the same as St. Lucia -	2,397	1,050	10,752
Cayenne, in 1780 -	1,358	—	10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

vagabonds

BOOK vagabonds and fugitives. Many of the British
IV. Colonies were originally composed of men who
sought, in the wildernesses of the New World,
the peaceable enjoyment of those natural or sup-
posed rights of which they were deprived by the
hand of violence and oppression in their native
country. I extend this description to persons of
opposite political sentiments and connections, to
loyalists as well as republicans; for it is to be
hoped that some of each party were men whose
principles were honest, though their conduct
might have been wrong. The advocates of loy-
alty sought refuge chiefly in Barbadoes, and many
of the adherents of Cromwell, after the restora-
tion of Charles II. found protection in Jamaica *.
At present, among the numbers whom accident
or choice conducts to the British West Indies, the
juniors in the learned professions of law, physic
and divinity, constitute no inconsiderable body.
These men ought to be, and, generally speaking,
really are, persons of education and morals. Few
places afford greater encouragement to the first
and second of these employments; and, as ability
is fostered and called forth by exercise, no part of
the British dominions has, in my opinion, pro-
duced abler men in either (in proportion to their
number) than these islands. Local prejudice, and
bigotry towards great names, may perhaps incline
some persons to dispute this assertion; but, pre-
judice and bigotry apart, it will be found, I be-
lieve, that Nature has distributed the gifts of ge-
nius more equally and generally than is commonly
imagined. It is cultivation and favor that ripen

* Among these was Thomas Scott (son of the person of
that name who sat as one of the judges on the trial of Charles
I.) from whose daughter was descended the late Alderman
Beckford of Fonthill, and by the mother's side the present
Earl of Effingham.

and

WEST INDIES.

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and bring them to perfection. The British Navy ^{1.} CHAP. and Army likewise contribute considerably to the augmentation of the White Inhabitants. Individuals in both these professions, either from the inducement of agreeable connections, which it would be strange if many of them did not form, in a long residence in these countries, or captivated by the new prospects which open to their contemplation, very frequently quit the business of arms, and the dangers of a tempestuous element, and become peaceful citizens and industrious planters. Next to these may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, such as factors, store-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks ; who are followed by tradesmen and artificers of various kinds, such as millwrights, carpenters, masons, coppersmiths, and others ; most of whom, either through accident or necessity, after some years residence, become adventurers in the soil. Then come the husbandmen, or cultivators of the land, professedly such ; who are commonly distinguished by the appellation of managers, overseers, and plantation book-keepers ; and they constitute a numerous body of people, composed of men of all countries and characters ; for, unfortunately, every enterprising genius, who has either learnt no particular trade, or has been brought up to one which is useless in these regions, fancies himself capable of speedily acquiring all the various knowledge of the sugar planter, and the right management and government of his fellow creatures, the Negroes ; though in truth a more weighty charge in itself, and more important in its consequences, can scarcely fall to the lot of man.

I have, in a former place, assigned the causes to which it is partly ascribable that emigrants from various parts of the mother country, successively constitute

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK constitute the bulk of the sugar colonists ; of IV. whom it is certain that the major part retain, in a considerable degree, the manners and habits of life in which they were educated. Yet there are authors who affect to describe the inhabitants of all the West Indies, as a herd of criminals and convicts ; and cite the stale crimes and violences of lawless men, a century ago, when these islands were the rendezvous of pirates and buccaniers, as a just representation of the reigning colonial habits, manners, and dispositions !

Calumnies so gross, defeat themselves by their absurdity ;—but although it is in the highest degree ridiculous to imagine that a voyage across the Atlantic creates any sudden or radical change in the human mind, yet, notwithstanding what has been just observed concerning local manners and habits in the different classes of European settlers, it cannot be denied that there prevails besides, something of a marked and predominant character common to all the White residents.

Of this character it appears to me that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest White person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a White Man, in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery. Of the two great classes of people in most of these colonies, the Blacks outnumber the Whites in the proportion

proportion of seven to one. As a sense of common safety therefore unites the latter in closer ties than are necessary among men who are differently situated, so the same circumstance necessarily gives birth among them to reciprocal dependance and respect. Other causes contribute to the same end. "Where slavery" (says a great writer) "is established in any part of the world, those who are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them like something that is more noble and liberal. Thus the people of the Southern Colonies (of America) are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days are the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves*."

Possibly too, the climate itself, by increasing sensibility, contributes to create an impatience of subordination. But, whatever may be the cause of this consciousness of self-importance in the West Indian character, the consequences resulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it sometimes produces an ostentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of splendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propensities of our nature—frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent, than in the

* Burke's Speech in Parliament, 22d of March, 1775.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK British Sugar Islands. The gates of the planter IV. are always open to the reception of his guests.— To be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction. This species of hospitality is indeed carried so far, that, as Mr. Long has remarked, there is not one tolerable inn throughout all the West Indies *.

To the same cause may perhaps be ascribed, on the other hand, that eagerness for litigation and juridical controversy, which so remarkably predominates in most of these Islands. From this unfortunate passion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage however results to the community at large; that the lower orders of

* There are some peculiarities in the habits of life of the White Inhabitants which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contrast between the general plenty and magnificence of their tables (at least in Jamaica) and the meanness of their houses and apartments; it being no uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters, a splendid sideboard loaded with plate, and the choicest wines, a table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all this, in a hovel not superior to an English barn. A stranger cannot fail also to observe a strange incongruity and inconsistency between the great number of Negro domestics, and their appearance and apparel. The butler (and he but seldom) is the only attendant that is allowed the luxury of shoes and stockings. All the others, and there is commonly one to each guest, wait at table in *bare-footed majesty*; some of them perhaps half naked. Another peculiarity in the manners of the English in the West Indies (in Jamaica especially) is the number of nautical expressions in their conversation. Thus they say, *band such a thing*, instead of bring or give it. A plantation well stocked with Negroes, is said to be *well banded*: an office or employment is called *a birth*; the kitchen is denominated the *cook-room*; a warehouse is called a *store*, or *store-room*: a sofa is called *a cot*; a waistcoat is termed *a jacket*; and in speaking of the East and West, they say to *windward* and *leeward*. This language has probably prevailed since the days of the buccaniers.

men,



W E S T I N D I E S.

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men, from their frequent attendance on the courts of law, acquire a degree of knowledge, and a clearness and precision of reasoning, which are not generally to be found in men of the same rank in England. Thus the petty juries in the West Indies are commonly far more intelligent and respectable than those in Great Britain. Every candid person, who has attended the courts of criminal jurisdiction in both countries, must confirm this observation.

But, it is to the Creoles or Natives, that we must look for the original or peculiar cast of character impressed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be such as many writers imagine. For my own part, I am of opinion that the climate of the West Indies displays itself more strongly on the persons of the Natives, than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviously a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robust, I have known several who were full six feet four inches in height; but they wanted bulk, to meet our ideas of masculine beauty. All of them, however, are distinguished for the freedom and suppleness of their joints; which enable them to move with great ease and agility, as well as gracefulness, in dancing. From the same cause they excel in penmanship, and the use of the small sword. It has been truly observed, that the effect of climate is likewise obvious in the structure of the eye, the socket being considerably deeper than among the natives of Europe. By this conformation, they are guarded from those ill effects which an almost continual strong glare of sun-shine might otherwise produce; and it is a curious circumstance, that their skin feels considerably colder than that of a European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived some peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which

BOOK which she has denied to the nations of temperate IV. regions, as unnecessary. Accordingly, though their mode of living differs in no respect from that of the European residents, they are rarely obnoxious to those inflammatory disorders which frequently prove fatal to the latter.

The ladies of these Islands have indeed greater cause to boast of this fortunate exemption, than the men; a pre-eminence undoubtedly acquired by the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and self-denial. Except the exercise of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amusement or avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind. Those midnight assemblies and gambling conventions, wherein health, fortune, and beauty, are so frequently sacrificed in the cities of Europe, are here happily unknown. In their diet, the Creole women are, I think, abstemious even to a fault. Simple water, or lemonade, is the strongest beverage in which they indulge; and a vegetable mess at noon, seasoned with cayenne pepper, constitutes their principal repast. The effect of this mode of life, in a hot and oppressive atmosphere, is a lax fibre, and a complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the rose. To a stranger newly arrived, the ladies appear as just risen from the bed of sickness.— Their voice is soft and spiritless, and every step betrays languor and lassitude. With the finest persons, they certainly want that glow of health in the countenance, that delicious crimson (*lumen purpureum juventi*) which, in colder countries, enlivens the coarsest set of features, and renders a beautiful one irresistible.

Youth's orient bloom, the blush of chaste desire,
The sprightly converse, and the smile divine,
(Love's gentler train) to milder climes retire,
And full in Albion's matchless daughters shine.

In



In *one* of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies surpass the Creoles; for they have, in general, the finest eyes in the world; large, languishing, and expressive; sometimes beaming with animation, and sometimes melting with tenderness; a sure index to that native goodness of heart and gentleness of disposition for which they are eminently and deservedly applauded, and to which, combined with their system of life and manners (sequestered, domestic, and unobtrusive) it is doubtless owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers *.

Perhaps, the circumstance most distinguishable in the character of the Natives to which the climate seems to contribute, is the early display of the mental powers in young children; whose quick perception, and rapid advances in knowledge, exceed those of European infants of the same age, in a degree that is perfectly unaccountable and astonishing. This circumstance is indeed too striking to have escaped the notice of any one writer who has visited the tropical parts of America; and the fact being too well established to be denied, the philosophers of Europe have consoled themselves with an idea that, as the genius of the young West Indians attains sooner to maturity, it declines more rapidly than that of Europeans. Nature is supposed to act in this case in a manner analogous to her operations in the vegetable kingdom, where the trees that come soonest to perfection, are at the same time less firm and durable than those which require more time for the completion of their growth. It is indeed certain, that

* The Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preserve and keep beautifully white by a constant use of the juice of a withe called the Chewstick; a species of *rhamnus*. It is cut into small pieces, and used as a tooth-brush. The juice is a strong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

the

BOOK the subsequent acquirements of the mind in the
 IV. Natives, do not always keep pace with its early
 progres ; but the chief cause (as Ulloa hath ob-
 served) of the short duration of such promising
 beginnings, seems to be the want of proper ob-
 jects for exercising the faculties. The propensity
 also, which the climate undoubtedly encourages,
 to early and habitual licentiousness, induces a turn
 of mind and disposition unfriendly to mental im-
 provement. Among such of the Natives as have
 happily escaped the contagion and enervating ef-
 fects of youthful excesses, men are found of ca-
 pacities as strong and permanent, as among any
 people whatever.

As I cannot therefore admit that the Creoles in
 general posses less capacity and stability of mind
 than the natives of Europe, much less can I allow
 that they fall short of them in those qualities of
 the heart which render man a blessing to all around
 him. Generosity to each other, and a high de-
 gree of compassion and kindness towards their in-
 ferior and dependents, distinguish the Creoles in
 a very honourable manner *. If they are proud,
 their pride is allied to no meanness. Instructed
 from their infancy to entertain a very high opinion
 of their own consequence, they are cautious of
 doing any act which may lessen the consciousness
 of their proper dignity. From the same cause
 they scorn every species of concealment. They
 have a frankness of disposition beyond any people
 on earth. Their confidence is unlimited and en-
 tire. Superior to falsehood themselves, they sus-
 pect it not in others.

“ * Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel
 “ and morose towards the Slaves than the Creoles or Native
 “ West Indians.”

Ramsay, Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of
 the Slaves, &c.

How

How far this nobleness of disposition may be ascribed to the influence of a genial climate, and how far to education and example, I presume not to discriminate. The effects of heat on the body are sufficiently visible ; but perhaps Philosophers have relied too much on a supposed sympathy between the body and mind. "The natives of hot "climates (says one writer) are slothful and timid;" but timidity is by no means the necessary consequence of indolence. The mind may require great force to rouse it to due exertion ; but, being properly urged may display qualities very opposite to those of a timid disposition. At least, timidity constitutes no part of the character of the Natives of the British West Indies. Indolence, I will admit, is too predominant among them ; but that they are deficient in personal courage, no man, who has the smallest acquaintance with them, will allow for a moment. Even the indolence of which they are accused, is rather an aversion to serious thought and deep reflection, than a slothfulness and sluggishness of nature. Both sexes, when the springs of the mind are once set in motion, are remarkable for a warm imagination and a high flow of spirits. There seems indeed universally to reign among them a promptitude for pleasure. This effect has been ascribed, and perhaps justly, to the levity of the atmosphere *. To the same cause is commonly imputed the propensity observable in most of the West Indians to indulge extravagant ideas of their riches ; to view their circumstances through a magnifying medium, and to feast their fancies on what another year will effect. This anticipation of imaginary wealth is so prevalent as to become justly ridiculous ; yet I am inclined to think it is a propensity that exists inde-

* Moseley on the Climate of the West Indies.

pendent

BOOK pendent of the climate and atmosphere, and that IV. it arises principally from the peculiar situation of the West Indian Planters as land-holders. Not having, like the proprietors of landed estates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to substantial tenants, they are, for the most part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are, in the highest degree, fluctuating and uncertain. Under these circumstances a West Indian property is a species of lottery. As such, it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations ;—too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment.

Such are the few observations which I have noted concerning the character, disposition, and manners of the White inhabitants of these islands ; I proceed now to persons of mixed blood (usually termed *People of Colour*) and Native Blacks of free condition. Of the former, all the different classes, or varieties, are not easily discriminated. In the British West Indies they are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Quadrone*s, and *Mestizas* * ; but the Spaniards, from whom these appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer distinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Anthonio De Ulloa, in his description of the inhabitants of Carthagena :

* A *Sambo* is the offspring of a Black Woman by a Mulatto Man, or *vice versa*.

Mulatto — of a Black Woman by a White Man.

Quadroon — of a Mulatto Woman by a White Man.

Mestize or *Mulhee* of a *Quadroon* Woman by a White Man.

The offspring of a *Mestize* by a White Man are white by law. A *Mestize* therefore in our islands is, I suppose, the *Quintson* of the Spaniards.

“ Among

“ Among the tribes which are derived from C H A P. an intermixture of the Whites with the Negroes, I. the first are the *Mulattoes*; next to these are the *Tercerons*, produced from a White and a Mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these follow the *Quarterons*, proceeding from a White and a Terceron. The last are the *Quinterons*, who owe their origin to a White and Quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the Whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a White and Quinteron consider themselves as free from all taint of the Negroe race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or cast, that if, through inadvertence, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the clas of the *Quinterons*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Sambos*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. Betwixt the *Tercerones* and *Mulattoes*, the *Quarterones* and the *Tercerones*, &c. are those called *Tente en el Ayre, Suspended in the air*; because they neither advance nor recede. Children whose parents are a *Quarteron* or *Quinteron*, and a *Mulatto* or *Terceron*, are *Salto alras retrogrades*; because, instead of advancing towards being *Whites*, they have gone backwards towards the *Negroe* race. The children between a *Negroe* and a *Quinteron*, are called *Sambos de Negroe, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c.*”

In Jamaica, and I believe in the rest of our Sugar Islands, the descendants of Negroes by White people,

BOOK people, entitled by birth to all the rights and liberties of White subjects in the full extent, are such as are above three steps removed in lineal digression from the Negro venter. All below this, whether called in common parlance Mes-tizes, Quadrons, or Mulattoes, are deemed by law Mulattoes.

Anciently there was a distinction in Jamaica between such of those people as were born of freed mothers (the maxim of the civil law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, prevailing in all our colonies) and such as had been immediately released from slavery by deed or will of their owners. While the former were allowed a trial by jury in criminal cases, the latter were tried in the same way as the common slaves, by two justices and three freeholders. Neither were the latter admitted as evidences against free born persons until the year 1748, when an act was passed in their favour, putting both classes on the same footing.

In all other respects, the legal capacities which they possessed, were very imperfectly defined: The Mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the freed Negroes, concerning whom (few of them being baptized, or supposed to be sensible of the nature of an oath) the courts of law interpreted the act of manumission by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment or release of his own proper authority over the person of the slave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty, the civil and political rights of a natural born subject; and the same principle was applied to the issue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the Negro ancestor.

The principal incapacities to which these people are now subject, as distinct from the Whites, are these.

First,

First, By the laws of Jamaica, their evidence C H A P. is not received in criminal cases against a White person, nor even against a person of Colour, in whose favour a particular act has been passed by the legislature. In this respect they seem to be placed on a worse footing than the enslaved Negroes, who have masters that are interested in their protection, and who, if their slaves are maltreated, have a right to recover damages, by an action on the case.

Secondly, They are denied the privilege (I believe in all the British colonies) of being eligible to serve in parochial vestries and general assemblies; or of acting in any office of public trust, even so low as that of a constable; neither are they permitted to hold commissions even in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia. They are precluded also from voting at elections of members to serve in the assembly. It may be urged however that the laws of England require baptism, and a certain degree of property, in similar cases.

Thirdly, By an act of the assembly of Jamaica, passed in the year 1762, it is enacted, that a testamentary devise from a White person to a Negro or Mulatto, not born in wedlock, of real or personal estate, exceeding in value £.2,000 currency, shall be void, and the property descend to the heir at law.

As some counterbalance however to these restrictions, the assembly, on proper application, is readily enough inclined to pass private acts, granting the privileges of White people, with some limitations, to such persons of Colour as have been regularly baptized, and properly educated. On the same ground, private bills are sometimes passed to authorize gentlemen of fortune, under particular circumstances, to devise their estates to

BOOK their reputed Mulatto children, notwithstanding
IV. the act of 1762.

But there is this mischief arising from the system of rigour ostensibly maintained by the laws against this unfortunate race of people; that it tends to degrade them in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the community to which they belong. This is carried so far, as to make them at once wretched to themselves, and useless to the public. It very frequently happens that the lowest White person, considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best-educated Free man of Colour, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description, treating him as the Egyptians treated the Israelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread*. To this evil, arising from public opinion, no partial interposition of the legislature in favour of individuals, affords an effectual remedy; and the consequence is, that instead of a benefit, these unhappy people are a burthen and a reproach to society. They have no motives of sufficient efficacy either to engage them in the service of their country, or in profitable labour for their own advantage. Their progress in civility and knowledge is animated by no encouragement; their attachment is received without approbation; and their diligence exerted without reward *.

I am

* It would surely be a wise and humane law that should grant to every free Negro and Mulatto, the right of being a competent witness in all criminal cases, and more especially in those of personal injury to himself.—Perhaps indeed it might be proper to require of such persons the proof of baptism, and the ability to read and write; and I think that some useful regulations might be made to apportion greater privileges to the coloured people according to their approximation to the Whites; a system which would not serve to confound, but to keep



W E S T . I N D I E S .

21

I am happy however that I can assert with C H A P. truth, that their fidelity and loyalty have hitherto remained unimpeached and unsuspected. To the Negroes they are objects of envy and hatred ; for the same or a greater degree of superiority which the Whites assume over *them*, the free Mulattoes lay claim to over the Blacks. These, again, abhor the idea of being slaves to the descendants of slaves. Thus circumstanced, the general character of the Mulattoes is strongly marked by the peculiarity of their situation ; and I cannot but think that they are, on the whole, objects of favour and compassion.

In their deportment towards the White people they are humble, submissive, and unassuming. Their spirits seem to sink under the consciousness of their condition. They are accused however of proving bad masters when invested with power ; and their conduct towards their slaves is said to be, in a high degree, harsh and imperious. I suspect there is some truth in this representation ; for it is the general characteristic of human nature, that men whose authority is most liable to be disputed, are the most jealous of any infringement of it, and the most vigilant in its support.

The accusation most generally brought against the free people of Colour, is the incontinency

keep up and render useful those distinctions which local causes have created, and which it is not in the power of man to abolish. To the Quadrons and Metizes for instance (who possess the necessary qualification in *real* property) I would grant the right of voting for representatives in the assembly. Such a privilege would give them an interest in the community, and attach them powerfully to its government. In favour of such persons also, the act of 1762 might be modified. Whether it would be wise to repeal it altogether, is a deep and difficult question. Men who are unacquainted with local manners and customs, are not competent to pronounce an opinion in this case.

of

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK of their women; of whom, such as are young, and
IV. have tolerable persons, are universally main-
tained by White men of all ranks and conditions,
as kept mistresses. The fact is too notorious to
be concealed or controverted; and I trust I have
too great an esteem for my fair readers, and too
high a respect for myself, to stand forth the ad-
vocate of licentiousness and debauchery. Un-
doubtedly, the conduct of many of the Whites
in this respect, is a violation of all decency and
decorum; and an insult and injury to society.
Let it not offend any modest ear, however, if I
add my opinion, that the unhappy females here
spoken of, are much less deserving reproach and
reprehension than their keepers. I say this, from
considering their education and condition in life;
for such are the unfortunate circumstances of their
birth, that not one in fifty of them is taught to
write or read. Profitable instruction therefore,
from those who are capable of giving it, is with-
held from them; and unhappily, the young men
of their own complexion, are in too low a state
of degradation, to think of matrimony. On the
other hand, no White man of decent appearance,
unless urged by the temptation of a considerable
fortune, will condescend to give his hand in mar-
riage to a Mulatto! The very idea is shocking.
Thus, excluded as they are from all hope of ever
arriving to the honour and happiness of wedlock,
insensible of its beauty and sanctity; ignorant of
all Christian and moral obligations; threatened by
poverty, urged by their passions, and encouraged
by example, upon what principle can we expect
these ill-fated women to act otherwise than they
do?

Neither should it be forgotten, at the same
time, that very few of these poor females, in
comparison



comparison of the whole, are guilty of that infamous species of profligacy and prostitution, which flourishes, without principle or shame, and in the broad eye of day, throughout all the cities of Europe. In their dress and carriage they are modest, and in conversation reserved; and they frequently manifest a fidelity and attachment towards their keepers, which if it be not virtue, is something very like it. The terms and manner of their compliance therefore are commonly as decent, though perhaps not as solemn, as those of marriage; and the agreement they consider equally innocent; giving themselves up to the husband (for so he is called) with faith plighted, with sentiment, and with affection.

That this system ought to be utterly abolished I most readily admit. Justice towards the many beautiful and virtuous young ladies resident in these islands, cries aloud for a thorough reformation of manners! But by whom is such a reform to be begun and accomplished? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our present enquiries, who are conscious of no vices which their Christian instructors have not taught them; and whose qualities (few and limited as they are) flow chiefly from their own native original character and disposition.

Of those qualities, the most striking is tenderness of heart; a softness or sympathy of mind towards affliction and distress, which I conceive is seldom displayed in either extreme of prosperity or wretchedness. Those who have never experienced any of the vicissitudes and calamities of life, turn averse from the contemplation of them; and those again who are wretched themselves, have no leisure to attend to the sufferings of others: but the benevolence of the poor people

CHAP.
I.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK ple of whom I treat, is not merely solitary and contemplative; it is an active principle, in which they may be said particularly to excel; and I have the authority of a great writer before quoted (Don Anthonio De Ulloa) to support me in this representation. Speaking of their kindness to many poor Europeans, who, in the hopes of mending their fortunes, repair to the Spanish West Indies, where they are utterly unknown, he has the following account of such of them as are called at Carthagena *Pulizones*; being, he says, men without employment, stock, or recommendation. " Many of these (he observes) after traversing the streets until they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourse to the last extremity, the Franciscan hospital; where they receive, in a quantity barely sufficient to preserve life, a kind of pap made of cassada, of which the Natives themselves will not eat. This is their food; their lodging is the porticoes of the squares and churches, until their good fortune throws them in the way of some trader going up the country, who wants a servant. The city merchants, standing in no need of them, discountenance these adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall sick; without any other succour to apply to, than Divine Providence. Now it is that the charity of the people of Colour becomes conspicuous. The Negro and Mulatto free women, moved at the deplorable condition of these poor wretches, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the alms they procure, and even cause masses to be said for his soul."

I believe

I believe that no man, who is acquainted with CHAP. the general conduct and disposition of the same class of people in our own islands, will doubt that they would act as benevolently and humanely, under similar circumstances, as those of Carthagena. Their tenderness, as nurses, towards the sick; their disinterested gratitude and attachment where favours are shewn them; and their peaceful deportment under a rigorous system of laws, and the influence of masters still more oppressive, afford great room to lament that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them. The enfranchisement of such as are enslaved, Christian instruction to the whole, and encouragement to their industry, would, in time, make them a useful and valuable class of citizens; induce them to intermingle with each other, and render their present relaxed and vicious system of life, as odious in appearance, as it is baneful to society *.

* The Rev. Mr. Ramsay has enlarged on the same idea concerning these unfortunate people. "Children of Mulatto women, he observes (meaning, I presume, their children by White men) should be declared free from their birth. Intendants should be appointed to see them placed out in time to such trade or business as may best agree with their inclination and demands of the colony: this should be done at the expence of their fathers, and a sufficient sum might be deposited in the hands of the churchwardens, soon after their birth, to answer the purpose; the intendant keeping the churchwardens to their duty. By these means the number of free citizens would insensibly increase in the colonies, and add to their security and strength. A new rank of citizens, placed between the Black and White races would be established. They would naturally attach themselves to the White race as the more honourable relation, and so become a barrier against the designs of the Black, &c." All this, however, is easily proposed in theory, but, I am afraid, more difficult to adopt in practice than Mr. Ramsay was aware of.

Hitherto

BOOK IV. Hitherto I have confined myself to those people who, having some portion of Christian blood in their veins, pride themselves on that circumstance, and to the conscious value of which it is probable that some part of what is commendable in their conduct is owing. The free Blacks, not having the same advantage, have not the same emulation to excel. In truth, they differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whose manners, genius, and character, will be the subject of my next enquiries. I shall therefore conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers, a performance of a deceased friend, in which the character of the sable and saffron beauties of the West Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are pourtrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.



WEST INDIES.

27

CHAP.
L

THE

S A B L E V E N U S;

A N O D E.

(Written in Jamaica in 1765.)

Alba ligustra cadunt vaccinia nigra leguntur. VIRG.

I LONG had my gay lyre forsook,
But strung it t'other day, and took
T'wards HELICON my way;
The muses all, th' assembly grac'd,
The president himself was plac'd,
By chance 'twas concert-day.

ERATO smil'd to see me come;
Ask'd why I staid so much at home;
I own'd my conduct wrong;
But now the sable queen of love,
Resolv'd my gratitudē to prove,
Had sent me for a song.

The ladies look'd extremely shy,
APOLLO's smile was arch and fly,
But not one word they said;
I gaz'd,—sure silence is consent,—
I made my bow, away I went;
Was not my duty paid?

Come

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

IV.

Come to my bosom, genial fire,
Soft sounds, and lively thoughts inspire ;
 Unusual is my theme :
Not such dissolving OVID sung,
Nor melting SAPPHO's glowing tongue, —
 More dainty mine I deem.

Sweet is the beam of morning bright,
Yet sweet the sober shade of night :
 On rich ANGOLA's shores,
While beauty clad in sable dye,
Enchanting fires the wond'ring eye,
 Farewell, ye PAPHIAN bow'rs.

O sable queen ! thy mild domain
I seek, and court thy gentle reign,
 So soothing, soft and sweet ;
Where meeting love, sincere delight,
Fond pleasure, ready joys invite,
 And unbought raptures meet.

The prating FRANK, the SPANIARD proud,
The double SCOT, HIBERNIAN loud,
 And sullen ENGLISH own,
The pleasing softness of thy sway,
And here, transferr'd allegiance pay,
 For gracious is thy throne.

From East to West, o'er either Ind'
Thy scepter sways ; thy pow'r we find
 By both the tropics felt ;
The blazing sun that gilds the zone,
Waits but the triumphs of thy throne,
 Quite round the burning belt.

When

When thou, this large domain to view,
JAMAICA's isle, thy conquest new,
First left thy native shore,
Bright was the morn, and soft the breeze,
With wanton joy the curling seas
The beauteous burthen bore.

Of iv'ry was the car, inlaid
With ev'ry shell of lively shade ;
The throne was burnish'd gold ;
The footstool gay with coral beam'd,
The wheels with brightest amber gleam'd,
And glist'ring round they roll'd.

The peacock and the ostrich spread
Their beauteous plumes, a trembling shade,
From noon-day's sultry flame :
Sent by their fire, the careful East,
The wanton breezes fann'd her breast,
And flutter'd round the dame.

The winged fish, in purple trace
The chariot drew ; with easy grace
Their azure rein she guides :
And now they fly, and now they swim ;
Now o'er the wave they lightly skim,
Or dart beneath the tides.

Each bird that haunts the rock and bay,
Each scaly native of the sea,
Came crowding o'er the main :
The dolphin shews his thousand dyes,
The grampus his enormous size,
And gambol in her train.

Her skin excell'd the raven plume,
 Her breath the fragrant orange bloom,
 Her eye the tropic beam :
 Soft was her lip as silken down,
 And mild her look as ev'ning sun
 That gilds the COBRE * stream.

The loveliest limbs her form compose,
 Such as her sister VENUS chose,
 In FLORENCE, where she's seen ;
 Both just alike, except the white,
 No difference, no—none at night,
 The beauteous dames between.

With native ease serene she sat,
 In elegance of charms compleat,
 And every heart she won :
 False dress deformity may shade,
 True beauty courts no foreign aid :
 Can tapers light the sun ?—

The pow'r that rules old ocean wide,
 'Twas he, they say, had calm'd the tide,
 Beheld the chariot roll :
 Affum'd the figure of a tar,
 The Captain of a man of war,
 And told her all his foul.

She smil'd with kind consenting eyes ;—
 Beauty was ever valour's prize ;
 He rais'd a murky cloud :
 The tritons sound, the sirens sing,
 The dolphins dance, the billows ring,
 And joy fills all the crowd.

* A river so called in Jamaica.

Blest offspring of the warm embrace!
Fond ruler of the crised race!

Tho' strong thy bow, dear boy,
Thy mingled shafts of black and white,
Are wing'd with feathers of delight,
Their points are tipt with joy.

CHAP.
L

But, when her step had touch'd the strand,
Wild rapture seiz'd the ravish'd land,
From ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haste eagerly to show their love;—
Right welcome was the dame.

PORT-ROVAL shouts were heard aloud,
Gay ST. IAGO sent a crowd,
Grave KINGSTON not a few:
No rabble rout,—I heard it said,
Some great ones join'd the cavalcade—
The muse will not say who.

Gay Goddess of the fable smile!
Propitious still, this grateful isle
With thy protection bleis!
Here fix, secure, thy constant throne;
Where alt, adoring thee, do ONE
ONE Deity confess.

For me, if I no longer own
Allegiance to the CYPRIAN throne,
I play no fickle part;
It were ingratitude to slight
Superior kindness; I delight
To feel a grateful heart.

Then

BOOK
IV.

Then, playful goddess ! cease to change,
Nor in new beauties vainly range ;
Tho' whatsoe'er thy view,
Try ev'ry form thou canst put on,
I'll follow thee thro' ev'ry one ;
So staunch am I, so true.

Do thou in gentle PRIBBA smile,
In artful BERNEBA beguile,
In wanton MIMBA pout ;
In sprightly CUBA's eyes look gay,
Or grave in sober QUASHEBA,
I still shall find thee out.

Thus have I sung ; perhaps too gay
Such subject for such time of day,
And fitter far for youth :
Should then the song too wanton seem,
You know who chose th' unlucky theme,
Dear BRYAN, tell the truth.



C H A P. II.

Of Negroes in a state of Slavery.—Preliminary Observations.—Origin of the Slave Trade.—Portuguese Settlements on the African Coast.—Negroes introduced into Hispaniola in 1502, and the Slave Trade revived at the instance of Barth. de las Casas in 1517.—Hawkins's Voyages to the coast, in 1562 and 1563.—African Company established by James I.—Second charter in 1631 by Charles I.—Third charter in 1662.—Fourth charter in 1672.—Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Right in 1688.—Acts of the 9th and 10th of William and Mary, c. 26.—New regulations in 1750.—Description of the African Coast.—Forts and Factories.—Exports from Great Britain.—Number of Negroes transported annually to the British Colonies.—State of the Trade from 1771 to 1787.—Number of Negroes at this time exported annually by the different Nations of Europe.

THE progress of my work has now brought me to the contemplation of human nature in its most debased and abject state;—to the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings (in the English Islands only) in a state of barbarity and slavery; of whom—I will not say the major part, but—great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country and dearest connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and sorrow!

C H A P.
II.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK I am not unapprized of the danger I incur at
 IV. this juncture* in treating the subject of African
 Slavery, and the Slave Trade. By endeavouring
 to remove those wild and ill-founded notions
 which have been long encouraged by misinform-
 ed writers in Great Britain, to the prejudice of
 the inhabitants of the British Sugar Islands, I am
 conscious that I shall be exposed to all that "bit-
 terness of wrath, and anger and clamour, and
 evil speaking and malice," with which it has
 long been popular to load the unfortunate slave-
 holder: yet nothing is more certain than that the
 Slave Trade may be very wicked, and the planters
 in general very innocent. Much the greatest part
 of the present inhabitants of the British West
 Indies came into possession of their plantations by
 inheritance or accident. Many persons there are,
 in Great Britain itself, who, amidst the continual
 fluctuation of human affairs, and the changes in-
 cident to property, find themselves possessed of
 estates in the West Indies which they have never
 seen, and invested with powers over their fellow
 creatures there, which, however extensively odious,
 they have never abused: some of these gen-
 tlemen, unacquainted with local circumstances,
 and misled by the popular outcry, have humanely
 given orders to emancipate all their slaves, at
 whatever expence; but are convinced that their
 benevolent purposes cannot be carried into effect
 consistently even with the happiness of the Ne-
 groes themselves.—The Reverend Society estab-
 lished in Great Britain for propagating the Gof-
 pel in foreign parts, are themselves under this
 very predicament. That venerable society hold
 a plantation in Barbadoes under a devise of Co-

* Alluding to the petitions depending in parliament
 (1791) for an abolition of the Slave Trade.

lonel Codrington ; and they have found themselves not only under the disagreeable necessity of supporting the system of slavery which was bequeathed to them with the land ; but are induced also, from the purest and best motives, to purchase occasionally a certain number of Negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the stock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject, in making provision for the day that is passing over them, is a state of comparative felicity : and they know also, that men in savage life have no incentive to emulation : persuasion is lost on such men, and compulsion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.

CHAP.
II.

The question then, and the only question wherein the character of the planters is concerned, is this :—Making due allowance for human frailty under the influence of a degree of power ever dangerous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their slaves such only as necessarily results from their situation ? If to this enquiry, an affirmative be returned, surely Christian charity, though it may lament and condemn the first establishment of a system of slavery among them, and the means by which it is still kept up and supported, will not hastily arraign those who neither introduced, nor, as I shall hereafter shew, have been wanting in their best endeavours to correct and remedy many of the evils of it.

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers some account of the origin and present state of the Slave Trade, between the nations of Africa and such of the States of Europe as are concerned in it : this will constitute what remains of the present chapter.

BOOK ter. In the next, I shall offer some thoughts on
IV. the Negro character and disposition : after which
I shall treat, first, of the means by which slaves
are procured in Africa ; secondly, of the mode
of conveying them to the West Indies ; and
thirdly, of their general treatment and situation
when sold to the planters there : an arrangement
which will afford opportunities of illustrating the
foregoing observations, by enabling me to inter-
spersc such reflections as occur to my mind on
the several petitions now depending in parlia-
ment for a total abolition of the Slave Trade,
all or the greatest part of which are grounded on
abuses charged to exist under those several heads.

In the year 1442, while the Portuguese, under
the encouragement of their celebrated Prince
Henry, were exploring the coast of Africa, An-
thony Gonsalez, who two years before had seiz-
ed some Moors near *Cape Bojadar*, was by that
prince ordered to carry his prisoners back to
Africa : he landed them at *Rio del-Oro*, and re-
ceived from the Moors in exchange, ten Blacks,
and a quantity of gold dust, with which he re-
turned to Lisbon.

The success of Gonsalez, not only awakened
the admiration, but stimulated the avarice of his
countrymen ; who, in the course of a few suc-
ceeding years, fitted out no less than thirty-seven
ships in pursuit of the same gainful traffic. In
1481, the Portuguese built a fort on the Gold Coast ;
another, some time afterwards, on the Island of
Arguin ; and a third at Loango Saint Paul's, on
the coast of Angola ; and the king of Portugal
took the title of Lord of Guiney.

So early as the year 1502, the Spaniards be-
gan to employ a few Negroes in the mines of
Hispaniola ; but, in the year following, Ovando,
the

the governor of that island, forbade the further importation of them; alledging that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedness, and rendered them less tractable than formerly*. So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decrease of the last-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain, a few years afterwards, to revoke the orders issued by Ovando, and to authorize, by royal authority, the introduction of African Slaves from the Portuguese Settlements on the coast of Guiney. In the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain persons for the exclusive supply of 4,000 Negroes annually, to the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico†. This patent having been assigned to some Genoese merchants, the supply of Negroes to the Spanish American plantations became from that time an established and regular branch of commerce.

The concurrence of the Emperor to this measure was obtained at the solicitation of Bartholemew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians; and the conduct of this great prelate, on that occasion, has been the subject of much censure and animadversion. He is charged with the iniquitous absurdity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was concerting the means of restoring freedom to another. "While he contended," says a late writer ‡, "for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to

* Herrera, Decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.

† Herrera, Dec. 2. lib. 2. c. 20.

‡ Robertson, Hist. Amer.

BOOK be lawful and expedient to impose one, *still heavier*, upon the Africans." It would be difficult perhaps to say what yoke could well be heavier than the rigorous one imposed by the Spaniards on the wretched Indians; under which, as the same Historian elsewhere relates, the Natives of Hispaniola "were reduced, in the short space of fifteen years, from at least a million, to sixty thousand. But the conduct of Las Casas is not fully and fairly stated in the foregoing representation; for it supposes that each class of people (the Negroes and Indians) was found in a similar condition and situation of life, whereas it is notorious that many of the negroes imported from Africa, are born of enslaved parents, are bred up as Slaves themselves, and as such have been habituated to labour from their infancy. On this account we are told, that one able Negro was capable of performing the work of four Indians. On the other hand, the condition of these last-mentioned people was widely removed from a state of slavery. "The inhabitants of these islands," says a cotemporary writer, "have been so used to the enjoyment of liberty, in a life of plenty and pastime, that the yoke of servitude is insupportable to them; and assuredly, if they would but embrace our holy religion, they would be the happiest of human beings in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom*." Las Casas therefore contended reasonably enough, that men inured to servitude and drudgery, who could experience no alteration of circumstances from a change of masters, and who felt not the sentiments which freedom alone can inspire, were not so great objects of commiseration, as those who, having always enjoyed the sweets of unbounded liberty,

* Pet. Martyr. Decad.

were suddenly deprived of it, and urged to tasks **C H A P.**
of labour which their strength was unable to **II.**
perform. Las Casas could neither prevent nor
foresee the abuses and evils that have arisen from
the system of traffic recommended by him, and
is not therefore justly chargeable with the rash-
ness, absurdity, and iniquity which have since
been imputed to his conduct.

Of the English, the first who is known to have
been concerned in this commerce, was the cele-
brated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted
by Queen Elizabeth, and made treasurer of
the navy.—His adventures are recorded by
Hakluyt, a cotemporary historian. Having made
several voyages to the Canary Islands, and there
received information (says Hakluyt) “ that Ne-
“ groes were very good merchandise in Hispa-
“ niola, and that store of Negroes might easily
“ be had on the Coast of Guiney, he resolved
“ to make trial thereof, and communicated that
“ device, with his worshipful friends of Lon-
“ don, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge,
“ Master Gunson (his father-in-law) Sir William
“ Winter, Master Bromfield, and others; all
“ which persons liked so well of his intention,
“ that they became liberal contributors and ad-
“ venturers in the action; for which purpose
“ there were three good ships immediately pro-
“ vided, the Salmon of 120 tunnes, wherein
“ Master Hawkins himself went, as general; the
“ Swallow, of 100 tunnes, and the Jonas, a
“ bark of 40 tunnes; in which small fleete,
“ Master Hawkins took with him 100 men.”

Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leone,
in the month of October 1562, and in a short
time after his arrival on the coast, got into his
possession, partly (says Hakluyt) by the sword,
and

BOOK and partly by other means, to the number of 300
IV. Negroes, besides other merchandise, with which
he proceeded directly for Hispaniola, and touching
at different ports in that island, disposed of
the whole of his cargo in exchange for hides,
ginger, sugar, and some pearls; and arrived in
England in September 1563, after a very prosper-
ous voyage, which brought great profit to the ad-
venturers.

The success which had attended this first ex-
pedition, appears to have attracted the notice, and
excited the avarice of the British government;
for we find Hawkins, in the year following ap-
pointed to the command of one of the Queen's
ships, the Jesus of 700 tons, and with the Solo-
mon, the Tiger, a bark of 50 tons, and the
Swallow, a bark of 30 tons, sent a second time
on the same trading expedition; but with what
part of the profits for his own share, is not men-
tioned. He sailed from Plymouth, the 18th of
October 1564, and the same day joined at sea the
Minion, another of the Queen's ships, com-
manded by Captain David Carlet, and which, with two
others, the John Baptist, and the Merlin, were
likewise bound for Guiney.

The history of this voyage is related at large in
Hakluyt's Collection, by a person who embarked
with Hawkins; from whose account it appears,
that the fleet was dispersed by a violent gale of
wind, in the Bay of Biscay; that the Merlin
caught fire and blew up; that the John Bap-
tist put back, but that all the other vessels ar-
rived at length at Cape Verde, on the Coast of
Africa. "The people of Cape Verde," says the
writer, "are called *Leophares*, and are counted
"the goodliest men of all others saving the Con-
"goes, who inhabit this side the Cape de Buena
"Esperance.

“ Esperance. These Leophares have wars against C H A P.
“ the Jaloffs, which are borderers by them.— II.
“ These men also are more civil than any other,
“ because of their daily trafficke with the French-
“ men, and are of a nature very gentle and lov-
“ ing. Here we stayed but one night, and part
“ of the day, for the 7th of December we came
“ away; in that intending to have taken Negroes
“ there perforce; the Minion’s men gave them
“ to understand of our coming, and our pre-
“ tence; wherefore they did avoyde the snares
“ that we lay’d for them.”

It seems probable from this account, that the captain of the Minion having an independent command, was jealous of Hawkins’s authority, or, it is rather to be hoped, was shocked at the excesses to which his avarice urged him, in laying snares to carry off and seize the unoffending Natives. After this, the Minion no longer acted in concert, nor failed in company with Hawkins and his squadron.

On the 8th of December, Hawkins anchored at a small island called Alcatrafa. At this place we are informed that the Jesus and Solomon riding at anchor, the two barks with their boats, went to an island belonging to a people called the *Sapies*, to see if they could take any of the inhabitants. The English landed, to the number of eighty, with arms and ammunition; but the natives flying into the woods, they returned without success. A short time afterwards, we find this righteous commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. “ In this island (says the writer) we stayed certain dayes, “ going every day on shore to take the inhab-
“ bitants with burning and spoiling their towns.
“ These inhabitants (who were called *Samboes*)
“ hold

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BOOK "hold divers of the Sapis taken in war as
 IV. "their slaves, whom they kept to till the ground,
 "of whom we took many in that place, but of
 "the Samboes none at all; for they fled into the
 "maine." The writer then proceeds to give an
 account of the manners and customs of these
 people; and relates, among other particulars,
 that slavery is the established punishment for
 theft. "If a man (says he) steals but a Portugal
 "cloth from another, he is sold to the Portu-
 "gals for a slave." He relates further, that the
 Samboes, in a time of scarcity, devoured their
 captives, for want of better food.

The rest of Hawkins's adventures are nothing
 to my present purpose. What has been quoted,
 is sufficient to demonstrate that a regular traffic
 had been established, so early as the year 1564,
 both by the Portuguese and the French, with some
 nations of Africa, for the purchase of Slaves;
 that this intercourse was founded on mutual con-
 tract, and tended to civilise the Natives on the
 Coast; some nations of whom were possessed of
 Slaves, which they kept for the purposes of agri-
 culture; and occasionally killed for food; a hor-
 rid practice, that, I believe, no longer exists in
 this part of Africa. In regard to Hawkins him-
 self, he was, I admit, a murderer and a robber.
 His avowed purpose in sailing to Guiney, was to
 seize by stratagem or force, and carry away, the
 unsuspecting Natives, in view of selling them as
 Slaves to the people of Hispaniola. In this pur-
 suit, his object was present profit, and his em-
 ployment and pastime devastation and murder.
 He made a third voyage to Africa in 1568, for
 the same purpose, with a squadron of six ships,
 which the reader will not be sorry to find termi-
 nated most miserably; and put a stop, for some
 years,

years, to any more piratical expeditions of the C H A P. English to the Coast of Africa. II.

The first notice which I find in history of an actual attempt by the British nation to establish a regular trade on the African Coast, is in the year 1618, when King James I. granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and some other merchants of London, for raising a joint stock for a trade to Guiney: ships were accordingly fitted out; but the profits not being found to answer expectation, the proprietors soon afterwards withdrew their contributions; and the charter was suffered to expire*.

In 1631, King Charles I. erected by charter a second company for a trade to Africa; granting to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and sundry merchants, to enjoy the sole trade to the Coast of Guiney, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the isles adjacent, for 31 years to come. As the English had by this time began the settlement of plantations in the West Indies, Negroes were in such demand, as to induce the new company, at a great expence, to erect forts and warehouses on the Coast, for the protection of their commerce; but so many private adventurers and interlopers of all nations, broke in upon them, as in effect to force the trade open, and so it continued until after the restoration of Charles II.

In the year 1662, a third exclusive African company was incorporated, consisting of many persons of high rank and distinction; at the head of whom was the king's brother, the duke of

* Queen Elizabeth is said to have granted a patent in the 30th year of her reign, for carrying on an exclusive trade from the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone; but I do not find that any voyage was ever made in consequence of it.

BOOK York. This company undertook to supply our West Indian plantations with 3000 Negroes annually; but in 1664, the king intending to make war on the Dutch, secretly sent Sir Robert Holmes to the Coast, with orders to seize the Dutch forts near Cape Verde; in which service Holmes succeeded, and built at the same time a new fort at the mouth of the River Gambia, called James Fort, which we still hold. Thence sailing southward, he mastered all the Dutch factories on the Guiney Coast, except St. George D'Elmina and Acheen; all of which however were retaken in 1665, by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; together with the fort of Koromantyn, belonging to the English company, which (if I mistake not) the Dutch hold at this day, by the name of Fort Amsterdam.

In 1672 (the third company having in this year surrendered their charter to the crown) the fourth and last exclusive company was established. It was dignified by the title of the Royal African Company, and had, among its subscribers, the King, the duke of York, and many other persons of high rank and quality; and the whole capital of £.111,000 was raised in nine months. Out of this subscription, the late company was allowed £.34,000 for their three forts of Cape Coast Castle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort. The new company soon improved their trade, and increased the number of their forts; and, as all former companies were obliged to send to Holland to make up an assortment for the cargoes of their ships, they now introduced into England the making of sundry kinds of woollen goods, and other manufactures not before known; and they imported from the Coast great quantities of gold, out of which, in 1673, 50,000 guineas (so named

from

from the country) were coined. They also imported redwood for dyers, ivory, wax, and some other valuable commodities; and they exported to the value of £70,000 annually in English goods.

But the revolution in 1688 changed the scene; for by the 1st of William and Mary, as the *Petition and Declaration of Right* is commonly called, the African and all other exclusive companies not authorised by parliament, were abolished: the African trade, therefore, became in fact, free and open; although the company still persisted in seizing the ships of separate traders; a measure which occasioned much clamour, and no small obstruction to the Negroe-trade. The disputes which this conduct gave rise to, are however too uninteresting at present to be brought again to remembrance.

In 1689 was established the first *Affiento* company for supplying the Spanish West Indies with Negroes from Jamaica; and in 1698 the trade to Africa, which, by the Petition of Right, was virtually laid open, was legally made so, under certain conditions; for by statutes 9th and 10th of Will. and Mary, c. 26. it was enacted—

“ That for the preservation of the trade, and for the advantage of England and its Colonies, it should be lawful for any of the subjects of his Majesty’s realm of England, as well as for the company, to trade from England and the Plantations in America to Africa, between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope; upon paying for the aforesaid uses a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, for the goods exported from England or the Plantations, to be paid to the collector at the time of entry outwards, for the use of the company.

“ The same liberty was given to trade between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount; but, in addition to

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BOOK to the 10 per cent. on exportation, there was to be paid a further sum of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandize, redwood excepted, which was to pay only 5 per cent. at the place of exportation, imported into England, or the Plantations, from the coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Motint. The duties so paid were to be applied to the maintenance of the forts and castles, the providing ammunition, and soldiers. The company were yearly to render an account of the receipt of these duties and their application, to the Cursitor Baron of Exchequer.

“ Persons paying these duties were to have the same protection and defence for their persons, ships, and goods, from the forts and castles, and the same freedom and security for their negotiations and trade, as the company. They might settle factories within their limits, and were to be free from all molestations from the company.

“ No duty imposed by this act was to extend to Negroes exported, or to gold and silver, nor was the act to be so construed as to hinder any one from trading to that part of Africa commonly called South Barbary, extending southerly as far as Cape Blanco.”

Against the regulations of this law, which was to continue in force for 13 years, both the company and many of the private traders remonstrated without effect; and the company’s affairs, in the course of a few years, declined to so great a degree, that they were unable either to support their factories with new investments, or to pay the debts which they had already incurred. Parliament at length was induced to give them some assistance; and in 1739 voted £.10,000 for that purpose, and the like sum annually until the year 1744, when, by reason of the war with France and Spain,

Spain; the grant was doubled. In each of the C H A P. two succeeding years £.10,000 was again voted; ^{II.} but nothing was granted for 1747.

In the year 1750 the African trade, after having passed, as we have seen, through different constitutions and conditions, assumed a new appearance; for in that year the law took place under which it still exists, and is at present regulated. It is entitled, "An act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" the terms and conditions whereof I need not set forth, as the act itself is so easily referred to. Of the several countries however with which the trade is at present carried on, and the state of it for some years past, some particulars may be necessary. My account will be brief; there being many descriptions of Guiney extant; and an abridgement and summary of the best histories (collated and arranged with great judgment and accuracy) are given to the public in Astley's Collection of Voyages; wherein the reader will find much curious and useful information *.

That part then of the African coast on the Atlantic ocean, with which the people of Europe have an intercourse, extends from Cape Blanco, in 21° N. latitude; to a Portuguese settlement called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, lat. 9° S. comprehending a line of coast of upwards of 1,300 English leagues, and consisting of various countries, inhabited by a great

* In the year 1763 Senegal and its dependencies were vested in the African Company; but in 1765 the same became vested in the crown, and the trade was laid open. Thus the whole African trade is free to all his Majesty's subjects; but that part of it which is carried on between Port Salee and Cape Rouge is under the direction of government. From Cape Rouge to the Cape of Good Hope, the English forts are under the direction of a committee of the company.

BOOK number of savage nations, differing widely from
IV. each other, in government, language, manners
and superstitions.

The first of these countries, in which the British have an establishment, is the province of Senegambia; including the river Senegal, which opens into the Western ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in $13^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ N. latitude. Both these rivers are navigable many hundred miles up the country. The Negroes obtained from this part of Africa are known to the West Indian planters by the general name of *Mandingoes*.

From Cape Roxo (or Rouge) to Cape Appollonia, the European settlements, except a small English factory in the river Sierra Leone, are chiefly those of the Portuguese.—The Negroes obtained through their means, as well as from the English factory, are likewise called Mandingoes—I believe improperly; as many different languages are spoken on the coast between Senegal and Appollonia. This part of Africa is commonly called the Windward Coast.

The Gold Coast extends from Cape Appollonia to the River Volta, comprehending a line of 100 leagues. The maritime country is divided into a number of petty states or principalities, seemingly independant of, and often at war with, each other; the chief of which are Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Sabou, Fantyn (a rich and powerful people) Acron, and Agonna; some of which are said to maintain a republican, or more probably an aristocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it consists of three extensive kingdoms, called Assianee (or Shantee) Akim, and the Aquambou; each of which supplies the maritime states with great numbers of slaves, which

which they sell to the Europeans. In the British C H A P. West Indies, most of the Negroes purchased on the Gold Coast, are known by the general appellation of *Kromantees*, from Koromantyn, one of the earliest of our factories on this part of the African coast, as hath been already observed, but which is now become an insignificant village, or factory, in possession of the Dutch. It is situated in the kingdom of Fantyn, two miles from the fort of Anamaboe.—I believe that the same, or different dialects of the same language, is spoken throughout all the Gold Coast countries.

From the river Volta to the river Lagos, extends the Whidah country, (at present a province to the king of Dahomey, a great inland kingdom) by some geographers considered as part of the Gold Coast; by others denominated *The Slave Coast proper*. It begins with the small and barren state of Koto or Lampi, next to which is the kingdom of Adra, comprehending the subordinate maritime principalities of Great and Little Popo, or Papaw; from whence the Whidah Negroes are called generally, by the British traders, *Papaws*. The Whidah language, except as to the inhabitants of Koto, is peculiar and appropriate. The people of Koto speak a dialect of the Gold Coast, and there is a tribe of Whidah Negroes called *Nagoes*, who have a dialect which, though understood by the Papaws, differs from the Whidah language in many particulars.

West of the river Lagos begins the great kingdom of Benin, the coast of which forms a gulph or bight, ending at Cape Lopez, wherein are situated the trading places (being so many villages on the banks of several rivers) of Benin, Bonny, Old and new Callabar, Cameron and Gaboon.

BOOK IV. The slaves purchased on this part of the coast, have the general denomination of *Eboes*; probably from Arebo, the name of a village, formerly a considerable town, on the river Benin. Some of them (a tribe, I believe, from the interior country) are likewise called *Macoes*. In language they differ both from the Gold Coast Negroes and those of Whidah, and in some respects from each other; for from Whidah to Angola, the dialects vary at almost every trading river.

From Cape Lopez to the river Congo, distant 140 leagues, I believe the trade is chiefly engrossed by the Dutch and the French. To the southward of this river, very little trade is carried on by any Europeans except the Portuguese, who, as hath been observed, have a large city at Loango St. Paul's, on the Coast of Angola, strongly fortified; from which place they have penetrated quite through the country to their settlements at, and south of, Mozambique upon the eastern coast of Africa, where they have caravans constantly going and returning, and by that means carry on an extensive and advantageous inland commerce.

The whole number of forts and factories established on the coast by the different powers of Europe, is I believe 40; of which 14 belong to the English, 3 to the French, 15 to the Dutch, four to the Portuguese, and 4 to the Danes.

The commodities exported by the British traders to Africa, consist chiefly of woollens, linens, Manchester goods, Birmingham and Sheffield goods; East Indian silks and mixed goods; English printed calicoes and cottons; ready-made clothes, musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, gunpowder, shot, wrought and unwrought brass and copper, lead, pewter, wrought and unwrought iron,

iron, hats, worsted caps, earthen ware, British C H A P. II. spirits, rum and brandy, tea, sugar, coffee, and provisions of every kind.—The annual value, of late years, is estimated on an average at about £.800,000 sterling.

In some parts of the coast there is a duty paid on each ship, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his customs. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in such places as have but little trade. When permission is obtained to trade, the slaves are sometimes brought by the Black merchants on board the ships, and there sold; and sometimes they are purchased on shore at the merchants houses, and brought off to the ships, by the captains; after which the Black traders come on board to receive payment. In these particulars, circumstances and situations very often change the mode, just as an opposition among a number of purchasers makes it more or less necessary. Many of the factories on the coast are private property; of course they procure slaves for the ships in their own concern. Sometimes they barter slaves with strangers, in order to enlarge their own assortment of goods, or to procure some particular commodities of which they are in want. Among the forts, the officers that belong to them carry on trade more or less with the shipping as their circumstances will admit, and according as they are more or less independant; but the Black traders are supposed to sell their slaves about forty shillings each cheaper than the factories.

In those parts of the coast to which shipping resort all the year, the intercourse between the Black traders within land (for an extent as yet unexplored by any White person) and those on the coast, is constant and regular; but we have

D 2 no

BOOK no sufficiently precise and particular account of
IV. the manner in which this constant supply of
slaves for sale is kept up and supported. I shall
hereafter give the best information I have been
able to collect on this head. I regret that I have
not sufficient materials to enable me to furnish an
accurate statement of the number of Africans
that have been transported to the British colonies
since their first settlement. However, that curio-
sity may not be wholly disappointed, I have col-
lected such materials as I think will enable the
reader to form some judgment in this respect,
which probably will not be very wide of the
truth.

In the various publications with which the press
abounded during the time that the disputes be-
tween the African Company and the private trad-
ers were an object of national concern, it is af-
firmed by one party, and not denied by the other,
that about 140,000 Negroes had been exported by
the company, and 160,000 more by private adven-
turers, between the years 1680 and 1700: Total
300,000. From 1700 to December 1786, the
number imported into Jamaica was 610,000. I
say this on sufficient evidence, having in my pos-
session lists of all the entries. Of the number
imported during the same interval into the south-
ern provinces of North America, as well as the
Windward Islands, I cannot speak with precision;
but I am of opinion that the Jamaica import may
fairly be reckoned one-third of the whole. On
these grounds, the total import into all the Bri-
tish colonies of America and the West Indies,
from 1680 to 1786, may be put at 2,130,000,
being, on an average of the whole, 20,095 an-
nually. This I admit is much less than is com-
monly supposed: Anderson roundly fixes the an-
nual

nual import at 100,000 ; but vague and general C H A P. assertions prove nothing. The re-export may be II. stated at about one-fifth part of the import.

It appears to me, that the British slave trade had attained to its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the late American war. The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ships which sailed from England for the Coast in 1771, and of the number of slaves for the purchase and transportation of which they were sufficiently provided, and I believe its authenticity cannot be doubted ; viz.

	Ships.		Negroes.
To Senegambia - -	40	for	3,310
Windward Coast - -	56	—	11,960
Gold Coast - -	29	—	7,525
Bight of Benin - -	63	—	23,301
Angola - - -	4	—	1,050
 Total - -	 192	—	 47,146

Of the above 192 ships

		Negroes.
107	failed from Liverpool, for	29,250
58	— from London, for	8,136
23	— from Bristol, for	8,810
4	— from Lancaster, for	950

In the year 1772 sailed from Great Britain, for the African coast

		175 vessels, having goods on board valued at £.866,394 11 3
1773	- 151	ditto - 688,110 10 11
1774	- 167	ditto - 846,525 12 5
1775	- 152	ditto - 786,168 2 8
1776	- 101	ditto - 470,779 1 1
1777	- 58	ditto - 239,218 3 —
1778	- 41	ditto - 154,086 1 10
1779	- 28	ditto - 159,217 19 7

This

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BOOK IV.

This defalcation was unquestionably owing to the late war, on the termination of which the trade immediately began to revive, as appears by the following account of the Negroes imported into and exported from the British West Indian Islands, from 1783 to 1787 (both years inclusive); viz.

Year.	No of Ships.	Tons.	Negroes Imported.	Negroes Exported.	Negroes Retained.
1783	38	5,455	16,208	809	15,399
1784	93	13,301	28,550	5,263	23,287
1785	73	10,730	21,598	5,018	16,580
1786	67	8,070	19,160	4,317	14,843
1787	85	12,183	21,023	5,366	15,657

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa, by the subjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence supplied, the following account was transmitted by the merchants of Liverpool to the Lords of the Privy Council, and it is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can possibly be obtained: viz.

		Nº of Slaves Exported.
By the British	-	38,000
French	-	20,000
Dutch	-	4,000
Danes	-	2,000
Portuguese	-	10,000
Total	-	74,000

	Nº of Slaves.
Of which Gambia furnishes about	700
Isles Délos, and the adjacent rivers	1,500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount	2,000
Cape Mount to C. Palmas	3,000
Cape Palmas to C. Appolonia	1,000
Gold	

W E S T I N D I E S.

55

	No. of Slaves.	C H A P.
Gold Coast - - -	10,000	II.
Quitta and Popo - - -	1,000	
Whydah - - -	4,500	
Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry - -	3,500	
Lagos and Benin - - -	3,500	
Bonny and New Calabar - -	14,500	
Old Calabar and Cameroons - -	7,000	
Gabon and Cape Lopez - -	500	
Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda	3,500	
Majumba, Ambris, and Missoula - -	1,000	
Loango St. Paul's, and Benguela -	7,000	
 Total - -	 74,200	

Of the miserable people thus condemned to perpetual exile and servitude, though born in various and widely-separated countries, it is not easy to discriminate the peculiar manners and native propensities. The similar and uniform system of life to which they are all reduced; the few opportunities and the little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement, are circumstances that necessarily induce a predominant and prevailing cast of character and disposition. "The day," says Homer, "which makes man a slave, takes away half his worth;" and, in fact, he loses every impulse to action, except that of fear. Nevertheless, there are among several of the African nations some striking and predominant features, which cannot easily be overlooked by a person residing in any one of the sugar plantations. These peculiarities I shall endeavour to describe with candour and impartiality; after which, I shall attempt a delineation of their general character, as it is displayed under all the various modifications and circumstances of original habits, and present situation and condition.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coast.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and persons.—Koromantyn Negroes, or Natives of the Gold Coast.—Their ferociousness of disposition displayed by an account of the Negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.—Their national manners, wars, and superstitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin.—Persons and tempers.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and dispositions of Negroes in a state of slavery.

BOOK IV. **M**OST, if not all, the nations that inhabit that part of Africa which lies to the northward and eastward of Sierra Leone, are Mahometans; and following the means of conversion prescribed by their prophet, are, as we are told, perpetually at war with such of the surrounding nations as refuse to adopt their religious tenets. The prisoners taken in these religious wars furnish, I doubt not, great part of the slaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward coast; and it is probable that death would be the fate of most of the captives, if purchasers were not to be met with.

But the Mandingoës have frequent wars with each other, as well as with such nations as they consider enemies of their faith; and I am afraid that some of these wars arise from motives even less justifiable than religious zeal. An old and faithful

faithful Mandingo servant, who stands at my elbow C H A P. while I write this, relates that being sent by his father to visit a distant relation in a country wherein the Portuguese had a settlement, a fray happened in the village in which he resided; that many people were killed, and others taken prisoners, and he himself was seized and carried off in the skirmish; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by some of the natives of the place; and being sent down a river in a canoe, was sold to the captain of the ship that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national customs and manners he remembers but little, being, at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practise circumcision, and that he himself has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of this assertion, he chants, in an audible and shrill tone, a sentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill lilla!* *, which he says they sing aloud at the first appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was constantly made a day of strict fasting. It was almost a sin, he observes, on that day, *to swallow his spittle*,—such is his expression.

Besides this man, I had once another Mandingo servant, who could write, with great beauty and exactness, the Arabic alphabet, and some passages from the Alcoran. Whether his learning extended any further, I had no opportunity of being informed, as he died soon after he came into my possession.

The advantage possessed by a few of these people, of being able to read and write, is a circumstance on which the Mandingo Negroes in

* There is no God, but God.

BOOK the West Indies pride themselves greatly among
IV. the rest of the slaves; over whom they consider
that they possess a marked superiority; and in
truth they display such gentleness of disposition
and demeanour, as would seem the result of early
education and discipline, were it not that, generally
speaking, they are more prone to theft than any
of the African tribes. It has been supposed that
this propensity, among other vices, is natural to
a state of slavery, which degrades and corrupts
the human mind in a deplorable manner; but
why the Mandingo should have become more
vicious in this respect than the rest of the Natives
of Africa in the same condition of life, is a ques-
tion I cannot answer.

In their complexions and persons, the Mandingo are easily to be distinguished from such of the Africans as are born nearer to the equator; but they consist nevertheless of very distinct tribes, some of which are remarkably tall and black, and there is one tribe among them (called also the Phulies) that seems to me to constitute the link between the Moors and Negroes properly so called. They are of a less glosy black than the Gold Coast Negroes; and their hair, though bushy and crisped, is not woolly, but soft and silky to the touch. Neither have the Mandingo, in common, the thick lips and flat noses of the more southern Natives; and they are, in a great degree, exempt from that strong and fetid odour, which exhales from the skin of most of the latter; but in general they are not well adapted for hard labour.

After all, they differ less in their persons, than in the qualities of the mind, from the Natives of the Gold Coast; who may be said to constitute the genuine and original unmixed Negro, both in person and character.

The

The circumstances which distinguish the Ko-^{C H A P.}
romantyn, or Gold Coast, Negroes, from all ^{III.}
others, are firmness both of body and mind; a ~~curly~~
ferociousness of disposition; but withal, activity,
courage, and a stubbornness, or what an ancient
Roman would have deemed an elevation, of soul,
which prompts them to enterprizes of difficulty
and danger; and enables them to meet death, in
its most horrible shape, with fortitude or indif-
ference. They sometimes take to labour with
great promptitude and alacrity, and have consti-
tutions well adapted for it; for many of them
have undoubtedly been slaves in Africa:—I have
interrogated great numbers on this subject, and
although some of them asserted they were born
free, who as it was afterwards proved by the tes-
timony of their own relations, were actually sold
as slaves by their masters; others frankly con-
fessed to me that they had no claim to freedom
in their own country, and were sold either to
pay the debts, or to expiate the crimes, of their
owners. On the other hand, the Gold Coast be-
ing inhabited by various different tribes which are
engaged in perpetual warfare and hostility with
each other, there cannot be a doubt that many of
the captives taken in battle, and sold in the Eu-
ropean settlements, were of free condition in
their native country, and perhaps the owners of
slaves themselves. It is not wonderful that such
men should endeavour, even by means the most
desperate, to regain the freedom of which they
have been deprived; nor do I conceive that any
further circumstances are necessary to prompt
them to action, than that of being sold into cap-
tivity in a distant country. I mean only to state
facts as I find them. Such I well know was the
origin of the Negro rebellion which happened in
Jamaica in 1760. It arose at the instigation of a
Koromantyn

BOOK Koromantyn Negro of the name of Tacky, who
had been a chief in Guiney; and it broke out on
the Frontier plantation in St. Mary's parish, be-
longing to the late Ballard Beckford, and the ad-
joining estate of Trinity, the property of my de-
ceased relation and benefactor Zachary Bayly.
On those plantations were upwards of 100 Gold
Coast Negroes newly imported, and I do not be-
lieve that an individual amongst them had received
the least shadow of ill treatment from the time of
their arrival there. Concerning those on the
Trinity estate, I can pronounce of my own
knowledge that they were under the government
of an overseer of singular tenderness and huma-
nity. His name was Abraham Fletcher, and let
it be remembered, in justice even to the rebels,
and as a lesson to other overseers, that his life was
spared from respect to his virtues. The insur-
gents had heard of his character from the other
Negroes, and suffered him to pass through them
unmolested—this fact appeared in evidence.
Having collected themselves into a body about
one o'clock in the morning, they proceeded to
the fort at Port Maria; killed the sentinel, and
provided themselves with as great a quantity of
arms and ammunition as they could conveniently
dispose of. Being by this time joined by a num-
ber of their countrymen from the neighbouring
plantations, they marched up the high road that
led to the interior parts of the country, carrying
death and desolation as they went. At Ballard's
Valley they surrounded the overseer's house about
four in the morning, in which eight or ten White
people were in bed, every one of whom they
butchered in the most savage manner, and lite-
rally drank their blood mixed with rum. At
Esher, and other estates, they exhibited the same
tragedy; and then set fire to the buildings and
canes.

canes. In one morning they murdered between C H A P. thirty and forty Whites, not sparing even infants III. at the breast, before their progress was stopped. Tacky, the Chief, was killed in the woods, by one of the parties that went in pursuit of them; but some others of the ringleaders being taken, and a general inclination to revolt appearing among all the Koromantyn Negroes in the island, it was thought necessary to make a few terrible examples of some of the most guilty. Of three who were clearly proved to have been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's Valley, one was condemned to be burned, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to perish in that dreadful situation. The wretch that was burned was made to sit on the ground, and his body being chained to an iron stake, the fire was applied to his feet. He uttered not a groan, and saw his legs reduced to ashes with the utmost firmness and composure; after which one of his arms by some means getting loose, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it in the face of the executioner. The two that were hung up alive were indulged, at their own request, with a hearty meal immediately before they were suspended on the gibbet, which was erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. From that time, until they expired, they never uttered the least complaint, except only of cold in the night, but diverted themselves all day long in discourse with their countrymen, who were permitted, very improperly, to surround the gibbet. On the seventh day a notion prevailed among the spectators, that one of them wished to communicate an important secret to his master, my near relation; who being in St. Mary's parish, the commanding officer sent for me. I endeavoured, by means of an interpreter, to let him

BOOK him know that I was present; but I could not
 IV: understand what he said in return. I remember
 that both he and his fellow sufferer laughed im-
 moderately at something that occurred—I know
 not what. The next morning one of them
 silently expired, as did the other on the morning
 of the ninth day.

The courage, or unconcern, which the people
 of this country manifest at the approach of death,
 arises, doubtless, in a great measure, from their
 national manners, wars, and superstitions, which
 are all, in the highest degree, savage and sanguini-
 ary. A power over the lives of his slaves is pos-
 sessed, and exercised too, on very frivolous oc-
 casions, without compunction or scruple, by
 every master of slaves on the Gold Coast. Fa-
 thers have the like power over their children.
 In their wars they are bloody and cruel beyond
 any nation that ever existed; for all such of their
 captives as they reserve not for slaves, they mur-
 der with circumstances of outrageous barbarity;
 cutting them across the face, and tearing away
 the under jaw, which they preserve as a trophy,
 leaving the miserable victims to perish in that con-
 dition. I have collected this account from them-
 selves. They tell me likewise, that whenever a
 considerable man expires, several of his wives,
 and a great number of his slaves, are sacrificed
 at his funeral. This is done, say they, that he
 may be properly attended in the next world. This
 circumstance has been confirmed to me by every
 Gold Coast Negro that I have interrogated on the
 subject, and I have enquired of many*. In a
 country

* The following particulars I collected from some of my
 own Koromantyn Negroes, whose veracity I had no reason to
 doubt:—*Clara*, a most faithful well-disposed woman, who
 was

country where executions are so frequent, and C H A P. human blood is spilt with so little remorse, death III. must necessarily have lost many of its terrors ; and the natives in general, conscious they have no

was brought from the Gold Coast to Jamaica the latter end of 1784, relates, " That she was born in a village near Anamboo ; that her father and mother, and their children (nine in number) were slaves to a great man named *Anamoa*, on whose death she herself, and two of her brothers (who likewise belong to me) with several others of his slaves, were sold to pay his debts. *That twenty others were killed at his funeral.* I asked her which country she liked best, Jamaica or Guiney ? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, " *for that people were not killed there as in Guiney, at the funeral of their masters.*" She informed me also, in answer to some other enquiries, of a remarkable fact (i. e.) that the Natives of the Gold Coast give their children the *yaws* (a frightful disorder) by *inoculation* ; and she described the manner of performing the operation to be making an incision in the thigh, and putting in some of the infectious matter. I asked her what benefit they expected from this practice ? She answered, that by this means their infants had the disorder slightly, and recovered speedily, whereas by catching it at a later time of life, the disease, she said, '*got into the bone,*' that was her expression.

Cudjoe, aged (as I suppose) about fifty, relates that he was born in the kingdom of Asiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poco. Cudjoe's elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quashee, was adjudged to pay a fine to the man he had injured ; which not being able to do, he delivered over him (Cudjoe) who was at that time, by his own account, a boy about sixteen, as a compensation ; and Quashee immediately carried him off, and soon afterwards sold him to a Black slave-merchant, who having purchased many others, carried them all to the sea-coast (they were two months on their journey) and sold them to a Captain Reeder, who brought them to Jamaica. I asked him, what right his brother had to sell him ? ' *Because,*' said he, '*my father was dead;*' and by his account fathers have an unquestionable right to sell their children, and probably, on the demise of the father, the same power is assumed by the eldest son over the younger branches.

He

BOOK no security even for the day that is passing over
IV. them, seem prepared for, and resigned to, the
fate that probably awaits them. This contempt
of death, or indifference about life, they bring
with them to the West Indies ; but if fortunately
they fall into good hands at first, and become
well settled, they acquire by degrees other senti-
ments and notions. Nature resumes her lawful
influence over them. With the consciousness of
security, the love of existence also, amidst all the
evils that attend it in a state of slavery, gains ad-
mission into their bosoms. They feel it, and,
such is the force of habitual barbarity, seem
ashamed of their own weakness. A gentleman
of Jamaica visiting a valuable Koromantyn Negro
that was sick, and perceiving that he was thought-
ful and dejected, endeavoured, by soothing and
encouraging language, to raise his drooping spi-
rits. *Mafua*, said the Negro (in a tone of self-
reproach and conscious degeneracy), *since me come to
White man's country me lub (love) life too much!*

Even the children brought from the Gold
Coast manifest an evident superiority, both in
hardiness of frame, and vigour of mind, over all
the young people of the same age that are im-

He relates further, that the king has the power of life and
death, and that executions are very frequent. That when
the king or any considerable man dies, a great number of his
slaves are sacrificed at his tomb! He pretends not to ascertain
any particular number, but remembers perfectly well the death
of the old king whom Poco succeeded, and is positively cer-
tain that upwards of 100 people were slaughtered on that
occasion. To convince me that he understood what he said
when he mentioned that number, he counted the fingers of
both his hands ten times. He saith further, that wars are
very frequent ; that all able men are compelled to bear arms ;
and that when they take prisoners, the old and infirm are
killed, and the young and able preserved to be sold for slaves.

ported

ported from other parts of Africa. The like CHAP. firmness and intrepidity which are distinguishable in adults of this nation, are visible in their boys at an age which might be thought too tender to receive any lasting impression, either from precept or example.—I have been myself an eye-witness to the truth of this remark, in the circumstance I am about to relate. A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had purchased at the same time ten Koromantyn boys, and the like number of Ebos (the eldest of the whole apparently not more than thirteen years of age) caused them all to be collected and brought before him in my presence, to be marked on the breast. This operation is performed by heating a small silver brand, composed of one or two letters, in the flame of spirits of wine, and applying it to the skin, which is previously anointed with sweet oil. The application is instantaneous, and the pain momentary. Nevertheless it may be easily supposed that the apparatus must have a frightful appearance to a child. Accordingly, when the first boy, who happened to be one of the Ebos, and the stoutest of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he screamed dreadfully, while his companions of the same nation manifested strong emotions of sympathetic terror. The gentleman stopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and, immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their bosoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impression without flinching in the least, snapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Ebos.

One cannot surely but lament, that a people thus naturally emulous and intrepid, should be sunk into so deplorable a state of barbarity and superstition; and that their spirits should ever be

BOOK broken down by the yoke of slavery! Whatever
 IV. may be alledged concerning their ferociousness
 and implacability in their present notions of right
 and wrong, I am persuaded that they possess qua-
 lities, which are capable of, and well deserve cul-
 tivation and improvement.—But it is time to con-
 clude my observations on this nation, which I
 shall do, with some account of their religion; for
 which my readers are indebted to the researches
 of an ingenious gentleman of Jamaica, who is
 well acquainted with their language and manners.
 Its authenticity has been frequently confirmed to
 me, on my own inquiries among the Koramantyn
 Negroes themselves.

They believe that *Accompong*, the God of the
 heavens, is the creator of all things; a Deity of
 infinite goodness; to whom however they never
 offer sacrifices, thinking it sufficient to adore him
 with praises and thanksgiving.

Affaci is the god of the earth; to him they
 offer the first fruits of the ground, and pour out
 libations of the liquors they drink to his honour.

Ipboa is the god of the sea: if the arrival of
 ships which trade upon their coast is delayed, they
 sacrifice a hog to deprecate the wrath of *Ipboa*.

Obboney is a malicious deity, who pervades
 heaven, earth, and sea; he is the author of all
 evil, and when his displeasure is signified by the
 infliction of pestilential disorders, or otherwise,
 nothing will divert his anger but human sacri-
 fices; which are selected from captives taken in
 war, or, if there be none present, then from their
 slaves.

Besides the above deities, every family has a
 peculiar tutelar saint, who is supposed to have
 been originally a human being like one of them-
 selves, and the first founder of their family; upon
 the



the anniversary of whose burial, the whole number of his descendants assemble round his grave. III. C H A P.
and the oldest man, after offering up praises to Accompong, Afari, Iphoa, and their tutelar-deity, sacrifices a cock or goat, by cutting its throat, and shedding the blood upon the grave. Every head of an household of the family, next sacrifices a cock, or other animal in like manner, and as soon as all those who are able to bring sacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed, are dressed, and a great festival follows.

Among their other superstitions also, must not be omitted their mode of administering an oath of secrecy or purgation.—Human blood, and earth taken from the grave of some near relation, are mixed with water, and given to the party to be sworn, who is compelled to drink the mixture, with a horrid imprecation, that it may cause the belly to burst, and the bones to rot, if the truth be not spoken. This test is frequently administered to their wives, on the suspicion of infidelity, and the resemblance which it bears to the trial of jealousy by the *bitter water* described in the book of Numbers (chap. v.) is a curious and striking circumstance.

I now proceed to the people of Whidah, or Fida. The Negroes of this country are called generally in the West Indies *Papaws*, and are unquestionably the most docile and best disposed Slaves that are imported from any part of Africa. Without the fierce and savage manners of the Koromantyn Negroes, they are also happily exempt from the timid and desponding temper of the Eboes, who will presently be mentioned.—The cheerful acquiescence with which these people apply to the labours of the field, and their con-

BOOK ^{IV.}stitutional aptitude for such employment, arise, without doubt, from the great attention paid to agriculture in their native country. Bosman speaks with rapture of the improved state of the soil, the number of villages, and the industry, riches, and obliging manners of the Natives. He observes, however, that they are much greater thieves than those of the Gold Coast, and very unlike them in another respect, namely, in the dread of pain, and the apprehension of death.— “They are,” says he, “so very apprehensive of death, that they are unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear *that* alone should hasten their end; and no man dares to speak of death in the presence of the king, or any great man, under the penalty of suffering it himself, as a punishment for his presumption.” He relates further, that they are addicted to gaming beyond any people of Africa. All these propensities, if I am rightly informed, are observable in the character of the Papaws in a state of slavery in the West Indies. That punishment which excites the Koromantyn to rebel, and drives the Ebo Negro to suicide, is received by the Papaws as the chastisement of legal authority, to which it is their duty to submit patiently. The case seems to be, that the generality of these people are in a state of absolute slavery in Africa, and, having been habituated to a life of labour, they submit to a change of situation with little reluctance.

Many of the Whidah Negroes are found to be circumcised. Whether it be a religious ceremony, common to all the tribes that go under the appellation of Papaws, I know not. It is practised universally by the *Nugoes*; a people that speak the Whidah language; but I have met with Negroes from this part of the coast that disavow the practice.

We



Chap. III.
We are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coast of near 300 English leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the Negroes imported from these vast and unexplored regions, except a tribe which are distinguished by the name of *Mocoës*, are called in the West Indies *Eboes*; and in general they appear to be the lowest and most wretched of all the nations of Africa. In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold Coast and Whidah Negroes; but it is a sickly hue, and their eyes appear as if suffused with bile, even when they are in perfect health. I cannot help observing too, that the conformation of the face, in a great majority of them, very much resembles that of the baboon. I believe indeed there is, in most of the nations of Africa, a greater elongation of the lower jaw, than among the people of Europe; but this distinction I think is more visible among the *Eboes*, than in any other Africans. I mean not however to draw any conclusion of natural inferiority in these people to the rest of the human race, from a circumstance which perhaps is purely accidental, and no more to be considered as a proof of degradation, than the red hair and high cheek bones of the Natives of the North of Europe.

The great objection to the *Eboes* as slaves, is their constitutional timidity, and despondency of mind; which are so great as to occasion them very frequently to seek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their own melancholy reflections. They require therefore the gentlest and mildest treatment to reconcile them to their situation; but if their confidence be once obtained, they manifest as great fidelity, affection, and gratitude,

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK as can reasonably be expected from men in a state
 IV. of slavery. The females of this nation are better
 labourers than the men, probably from having
 been more hardly treated in Africa.

The depression of spirits which these people seem to be under, on their first arrival in the West Indies, gives them an air of softness and submission, which forms a striking contrast to the frank, and fearless temper of the Koromantyn Negroes. Nevertheless, the Eboes are in fact more truly savage than any nation of the Gold Coast; inasmuch as many tribes among them, especially the Moco tribe, have been, without doubt, accustomed to the shocking practice of feeding on human flesh. This circumstance I have had attested beyond the possibility of dispute, by an intelligent trust-worthy domestic of the Ebo nation, who acknowledged to me, though with evident shame and reluctance (having lived many years among the Whites) that he had himself, in his youth, frequently regaled on this horrid banquet: and his account received a shocking confirmation from a circumstance which occurred in the year 1779 in Antigua, where two Negroes of the same country were tried for killing and devouring one of their fellow-slaves in that island. They were purchased, a short time before, by a gentleman of the name of Christian, out of a ship from Old Calabar, and I am told were convicted on the clearest evidence.

Of the religious opinions and modes of worship of the Eboes, we know but little; except that, like the inhabitants of Whidah, they pay adoration to certain reptiles, of which the guana (a species of lizard) is in the highest estimation*.

They

* I have been assured by an intelligent person who had visited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up

They universally practise circumcision, " which C H A P. III. with some other of their superstitions (says Purchas) may seem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rites ; for many countries of Africa admit circumcision, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometism ; but are either Christians, as the Copti, Abissinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or rase the skin with three lines drawn to the navel, esteeming it necessary to salvation."

Next in order to the Whidah Negroes, are those from Congo and Angola ; whom I consider to have been originally the same people. I can say but little of them that is appropriate and particular ; except that they are in general a slender and slighty race, of a deep and glossy black (a tribe of the Congoes excepted, who very nearly resemble the Eboes) and I believe of a disposition naturally mild and docile. They appear to me to be fitter for domestic service than for field-labour. They are said however to become expert mechanics ; and, what is much to their honour, they

up human sacrifices in their worship of this animal. Perhaps the certainty of this may be questioned ; but the following anecdote is undoubtedly true. In the year 1787, two of the seamen of a Liverpool ship trading at Bonny, being ashore watering, had the misfortune to kill a guana, as they were rolling a cask to the beach. An outcry was immediately raised among the Natives, and the boat's crew were surrounded and seized, and all trade interdicted, until public justice should be satisfied and appeased. The offenders being carried before the king, or chief man of the place, were adjudged to die. However, the severity of justice being softened by a bribe from the captain, the sentence was at length changed to the following, that they should pay a fine of 700 bars (about £.175) and remain in the country as slaves to the king, until the money should be raised. The captain not being willing to advance so large a sum for the redemption of these poor wretches, sailed without them, and what became of them afterwards, I have not heard.

are

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK are supposed to be more strictly honest than many
IV. other of the African tribes.

Having thus recited such observations as have occurred to me on contemplating the various African nations in the West Indies separately and distinct from each other, I shall now attempt an estimate of their general character and dispositions, influenced, as undoubtedly they are in a great degree, by their situation and condition in a state of slavery; circumstances that soon efface the native original impression which distinguishes one nation from another in Negroes newly imported, and create a similitude of manners, and a uniformity of character throughout the whole body.

Thus, notwithstanding what has been related of the firmness and courage of the natives of the Gold-Coast, it is certain that the Negroes in general in our islands (such of them at least as have been any length of time in a state of servitude) are of a distrustful and cowardly disposition. So degrading is the nature of slavery, that fortitude of mind is lost as free agency is restrained. To the same cause probably must be imputed their propensity to conceal or violate the truth; which is so general, that I think the vice of falsehood is one of the most prominent features in their character. If a Negro is asked even an indifferent question by his master, he seldom gives an immediate reply; but affecting not to understand what is said, compels a repetition of the question, that he may have time to consider, not what is the true answer, but, what is the most politic one for him to give. The proneness observable in many of them to the vice of theft, has already been noticed; and I am afraid that evil communication makes it almost general.



W E S T I N D I E S.

C H A P.

It is no easy matter, I confess, to discriminate those circumstances which are the result of proximate causes, from those which are the effects of national customs and early habits in savage life; but I am afraid that cowardice and dissimulation have been the properties of slavery in all ages, and will continue to be so, to the end of the world. It is a situation that necessarily suppresses many of the best affections of the human heart. —If it calls forth any latent virtues, they are those of sympathy and compassion towards persons in the same condition of life; and accordingly we find that the Negroes in general are strongly attached to their countrymen, but above all, to such of their companions as came in the same ship with them from Africa. This is a striking circumstance: the term *shipmate* is understood among them as signifying a relationship of the most endearing nature; perhaps as recalling the time when the sufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal sympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.

But their benevolence, with a very few exceptions, extends no further. The softer virtues are seldom found in the bosom of the enslaved African. Give him sufficient authority, and he becomes the most remorseless of tyrants. Of all the degrees of wretchedness endured by the sons of men, the greatest, assuredly, is the misery which is felt by those who are unhappily doomed to be the Slaves of Slaves; a most unnatural relation, which sometimes takes place in the sugar plantations, as for instance, when it is found necessary to instruct young Negroes in certain trades or handicraft employments. In those cases it is usual to place them in a sort of apprenticeship to such of

the

BOOK the old Negroes as are competent to give them instruction; but the harshness with which these people enforce their authority, is extreme; and it serves in some degree to lessen the indignation which a good mind necessarily feels at the abuses of power by the Whites, to observe that the Negroes themselves, when invested with command, give full play to their revengeful passions; and exercise all the wantonness of cruelty without restraint or remorse.

The same observation may be made concerning their conduct towards the animal creation. Their treatment of cattle under their direction is brutal beyond belief. Even the useful and social qualities of the dog secure to him no kind usage from an African master. Although there is scarce a Negro that is not attended by one, they seem to maintain these poor animals solely for the purpose of having an object whereon to exercise their caprice and cruelty. And by the way, it is a singular circumstance, and not the less true for being somewhat ludicrous, that the animal itself, when the property of a Negro, betrays at first fight to whom he belongs; for, losing his playful propensities, he seems to feel the inferiority of his condition, and actually crouches before such of his own species, as are used to better company. With the manners, he acquires also the cowardly, thievish, and sullen disposition of his African tyrant.

But, notwithstanding what has been related of the selfish and unrelenting temper of the enslaved Africans, they are said to be highly susceptible of the passion of love. It has even been supposed that they are more subject to, and sensible of its impression, than the natives of colder climates. "The Negro (says Dr. Robertson) glows

glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his ~~CHAR.~~
~~climate.~~" "The tender passion (says another ~~III.~~
writer) is the most ardent one in the breast of the
enslaved African.—It is the only source of his
joys, and his only solace in affliction." Monsieur
de Chanvalon (the historian of Martinico) expa-
tiates on the same idea with great eloquence.—
"Love, says he, the child of nature, to whom
she entrusts her own preservation; whose progress
no difficulties can retard, and who triumphs even
in chains; that principle of life, as necessary to
the harmony of the universe, as the air which we
breathe, inspires and invigorates all the thoughts
and purposes of the Negro, and lightens the yoke
of his slavery. No perils can abate, nor impend-
ing punishments restrain, the ardour of his pas-
sion.—He leaves his master's habitation, and tra-
versing the wilderness by night, disregarding its
noxious inhabitants, seeks a refuge from his sor-
rows, in the bosom of his faithful and affection-
ate mistress."

All this however is the language of poetry and the visions of romance. The poor Negro has no leisure in a state of slavery to indulge a passion, which, however descended, is nourished by idleness. If by love, is meant the tender attachment to one individual object, which, in civilized life, is desire heightened by sentiment, and refined by delicacy, I doubt if it ever found a place in an African bosom.—The Negroes in the West Indies, both men and women, would consider it as the greatest exertion of tyranny, and the most cruel of all hardships, to be compelled to confine them-
selves to a single connection with the other sex; and I am persuaded that any attempt to restrain their present licentious and dissolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them,
as

BOOK as is strenuously recommended by many persons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpose. Perhaps it may be thought that the Negroes are not altogether reduced to so deplorable a state of slavery, as is commonly represented, when it is known that they boldly claim and exercise a right of disposing of themselves in this respect, according to their own will and pleasure, without any controul from their masters.

That passion therefore to which (dignified by the name of Love) is ascribed the power of softening all the miseries of slavery, is mere animal desire, implanted by the great Author of all things for the preservation of the species. This the Negroes, without doubt, possess in common with the rest of the animal creation, and they indulge it, as inclination prompts, in an almost promiscuous intercourse with the other sex; or at least in temporary connections, which they form without ceremony, and dissolve without reluctance. When age indeed begins to mitigate the ardour, and lessen the fickleness of youth, many of them form attachments, which, strengthened by habit, and endeared by the consciousness of mutual imbecility, produce a union for life. It is not uncommon to behold a venerable couple of this stamp, who, tottering under the load of years, contribute to each other's comfort, with a cheerful assiduity which is at once amiable and affecting.

The situation of the aged among the Negroes is indeed commonly such as to make them some amends for the hardships and sufferings of their youth. The labour required of the men is seldom any thing more than to guard the provision grounds; and the women are chiefly employed in

in attending the children, in nursing the sick, or **C H A P.** III. in other easy avocations; but their happiness chiefly arises from the high veneration in which old age is held by the Negroes in general, and this I consider as one of the few pleasing traits in their character. In addressing such of their fellow servants as are any ways advanced in years, they prefix to their names the appellation of *Parent*, as *Ta Quaco*, and *Ma Quasheba*; *Ta* and *Ma*, signifying Father and Mother, by which designation they mean to convey not only the idea of filial reverence, but also that of esteem and fondness. Neither is the regard thus displayed towards the aged, confined to outward ceremonies and terms of respect alone. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, furnishing one of the few exceptions to their general unrelenting and selfish character. The whole body of Negroes on a plantation must be reduced to a deplorable state of wretchedness, if, at any time, they suffer their aged companions to want the common necessaries of life, or even many of its comforts, as far as they can procure them. They seem to me to be actuated on these occasions by a kind of involuntary impulse, operating as a primitive law of nature, which scorns to wait the cold dictates of reason: among them, it is the exercise of a common duty, which courts no observation, and looks for no applause*.

Among other propensities and qualities of the Negroes must not be omitted their loquaciousness. They are as fond of exhibiting set speeches, as orators by profession; but it requires a consider-

* The greatest affront (says Mr. Long) that can be offered to a Negro, is to curse his father and mother, or any of his progenitors.

BOOK able share of patience to hear them throughout; IV. for they commonly make a long preface before they come to the point; beginning with a tedious enumération of their past services and hardships. They dwell with peculiar energy (if the fact admits it) on the number of children they have presented to *Massa* (*Master*) after which they recapitulate some of the instances of particular kindness shewn them by their owner or employer, adducing these also, as proofs of their own merit; it being evident, they think, that no such kindness can be gratuitous. This is their usual exordium, as well when they bring complaints against others, as when they are called upon to defend themselves; and it is in vain to interrupt either plaintiff or defendant. Yet I have sometimes heard them convey much strong meaning in a narrow compass: I have been surprised by such figurative expressions, and (notwithstanding their ignorance of abstract terms) such pointed sentences, as would have reflected no disgrace on poets and philosophers. One instance recurs to my memory, of so significant a turn of expression in a common labouring Negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the conversation of White people, as is alone, I think, sufficient to demonstrate that Negroes have minds very capable of observation. It was a servant who had brought me a letter, and, while I was preparing an answer, had, through weariness and fatigue, fallen asleep on the floor: as soon as the papers were ready, I directed him to be awakened; but this was no easy matter. When the Negro who attempted to awake him, exclaimed in the usual jargon, *You no hear Massa call you?* that is, Don't you hear your Master call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning composedly to his

his slumbers, *Sleep hab no Massa.* (Sleep has no CHAP.
Master.)

III.

Of those imitative arts in which perfection can be attained only in an improved state of society, it is natural to suppose that the Negroes have but little knowledge. An opinion prevails in Europe that they possess organs peculiarly adapted to the science of music; but this I believe is an ill-founded idea. In vocal harmony they display neither variety nor compass. Nature seems in this respect to have dealt more penitently by them than towards the rest of the human race. As practical musicians, some of them, by great labour and careful instruction, become sufficiently expert to bear an under part in a public concert; but I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard of a Negro who could truly be called a fine performer on any capital instrument. In general they prefer a loud and long-continued noise to the finest harmony, and frequently consume the whole night *in beating on a board with a stick.* This is in fact one of their chief musical instruments; besides which, they have the *Banja* or *Merriwang*, the *Dundo*, and the *Goombay*; all of African origin. The first is an imperfect kind of violincello; except that it is played on by the finger like the guitar; producing a dismal monotony of four notes. The *Dundo* is precisely a tabor; and the *Goombay* is a rustic drum; being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a sheep's skin. From such instruments nothing like a regular tune can be expected, nor is it attempted.

Their songs are commonly *impromptu*, and there are among them individuals who resemble the *improvisatore*, or extempore bards, of Italy; but I cannot say much for their poetry. Their tunes in general are characteristic of their national

BOOK tional manners; those of the Eboes being soft
 IV. and languishing; of the Koromantyns heroic and
 martial. At the same time, there is observable,
 in most of them, a predominant melancholy,
 which, to a man of feeling, is sometimes very
 affecting.

At their merry meetings, and midnight festivals, they are not without ballads of another kind, adapted to such occasions; and here they give full scope to a talent for ridicule and derision, which is exercised not only against each other, but also, not unfrequently, at the expence of their owner or employer; but most part of their songs at these places are fraught with obscene ribaldry, and accompanied with dances in the highest degree licentious and wanton.

At other times, more especially at the burial of such among them as were respected in life, or venerable through age, they exhibit a sort of *Pyrrhic* or warlike dance, in which their bodies are strongly agitated by running, leaping, and jumping, with many violent and frantic gestures and contortions. Their funeral songs too are all of the heroic or martial cast; affording some colour to the prevalent notion that the Negroes consider death not only as a welcome and happy release from the calamities of their condition, but also as a passport to the place of their nativity; a deliverance which, while it frees them from bondage, restores them to the society of their dearest, long-lost, and lamented relatives in Africa. But I am afraid that this, like other European notions concerning the Negroes, is the dream of poetry; the sympathetic effusion of a fanciful or too credulous an imagination *. The

Negroes,

* Perhaps it was some such imagination that gave rise to the following little poem, now published for the first time—the production

Negroes, in general, are so far from courting death, that, among such of them as have resided any length of time in the West Indies, suicide is

duction of early youth; but surely if the fond idea of returning to their native country could afford the poor Negroes comfort and consolation in death, it were to be wished that it really prevailed among them.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO-FUNERAL.

Mahali dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: The sable train
By youthful virgins led:
Daughters of injur'd Afric, say
Why raise ye thus th' heroic lay,
Why triumph o'er the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye;
'Tis now the hero lives, they cry;
Releas'd from slav'ry's chain:
Beyond the billowy surge he flies,
And joyful views his native skies,
And long-lost bowers again.

On Koromantyn's palmy soil
Heroic deeds and martial toil,
Shall fill each glorious day;
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,
And bliss unbought, unmix'd delights,
Past cruel wrongs repay.

Nor lordly pride's stern avarice there,
Alone shall nature's bounties share;
To all her children free.—
For thee, the dulcet Reed shall spring
His balmy bowl the Coco bring,
Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The thunder hark ! 'Tis Afric's God,
He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,
And speeds th' impatient hours :
From Niger's golden stream he calls ;
Fair freedom comes,—oppression falls ;
And vengeance yet is ours !

BOOK is much less frequent than among the free-born,
 IV. happy, and civilized inhabitants of Great Britain. With them, equally with the Whites, nature shrinks back at approaching dissolution; and when, at any time, sudden or untimely death overtakes any of their companions, instead of rejoicing at such an event, they never fail to impute it to the malicious contrivances and diabolical arts of some practitioners in *Obeah*, a term of African origin, signifying sorcery or witchcraft, the prevalence of which, among many of their countrymen, all the Negroes most firmly and implicitly believe. We may conclude, therefore, that their funeral songs and ceremonies are commonly nothing more than the dissonance of savage barbarity and riot; as remote from the fond superstition to which they are ascribed, as from the sober dictates of a rational sorrow.

Having mentioned the practice of *Obeah*, the influence of which has so powerful an effect on the Negroes, as to bias, in a considerable degree, their general conduct, dispositions, and manners, I shall conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers the following very curious account of this extraordinary superstition, and its effects: it was transmitted by the Agent of Jamaica to

Now, Christian, now, in wild dismay,
 Of Afric's proud revenge the prey,
 Go roam th' affrighted wood;—
 Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,
 Thy race shall prowl with savage yell,
 And glut their rage for blood!

But soft,—beneath yon tam'rind shade,
 Now let the hero's limbs be laid;
 Sweet slumbers bless the brave:
 There shall the breezes shed perfume,
 Nor livid lightnings blast the bloom
 That decks Mahali's grave.

the

the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, CHAP.
and by them subjoined to their report on the III.
slave trade; and, if I mistake not, the public are ~~are~~
chiefly indebted for it to the diligent researches,
and accurate pen, of Mr. Long.

“ The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obia* (for it is variously written) we conceive to be the adjective, and *Obe* or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the words *Obia*-men or women, are meant those who practise *Obi*. The origin of the term we should consider as of no importance in our answer to the questions proposed, if, in search of it, we were not led to disquisitions that are highly gratifying to curiosity. From the learned Mr. Bryant’s * Commentary upon the word *Oph*, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—“ A serpent in the Egyptian language, was called *Ob* or *Aub*. ”—“ *Obion* is still the Egyptian name for a serpent.”—“ Moses, in the name of God, forbids the Israelites ever to enquire of the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our Bible Charmer, or Wizard, Divinator, aut *Sorcilegus*. ”—“ The woman at Endor is called *Qub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and *Oubaios* (he cites from *Horus Apollo*) was the name of the Basilisk or Royal Serpent, emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular Deity of Africa.” This derivation, which applies to one particular sect, the remnant probably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote those Africans who in that island practise witchcraft or sorcery, comprehending also the class of what are called Myal-men, or those who, by means of a narcotic potion, made with the juice of an herb (said to be

* Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475, and 478.

BOOK the branched *Calalue* or species of *Solanum*) which
 IV. occasions a trance or profound sleep of a certain
 duration, endeavour to convince the, deluded
 spectators of their power to re-animate dead
 bodies.

“ As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the island, and from the current testimony of all the Negroes we have ever conversed with on the subject, the professors of *Obi* are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the science with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is so universally practised, that we believe there are few of the large estates possessing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldest and most crafty are those who usually attract the greatest devotion and confidence; those whose hoary heads, and a somewhat peculiarly harsh and forbidding in their aspect, together with some skill in plants of the medicinal and poisonous species, have qualified them for successful imposition upon the weak and credulous. The Negroes in general, whether Africans or Creoles, revere, consult, and fear them; to these oracles they resort, and with the most implicit faith, upon all occasions, whether for the cure of disorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or insults, the conciliating of favour, the discovery and punishment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events.— The trade which these impostors carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and sell their *Obies* adapted to different cases and at different prices. A veil of mystery is studiously thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and disco-
 very

very of the White people. The deluded Negroes, C H A P. III. who thoroughly believe in their supernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the stoutest among them tremble at the very sight of the ragged bundle, the bottle or the egg-shells, which are stuck in the thatch or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. In cases of poison, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant Negroes, ascribed entirely to the potent workings of *Obi*. The wiser Negroes hesitate to reveal their suspicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the *Obeah-men* against any who should betray them ; it is very difficult therefore for the White proprietor to distinguish the *Obeah professor* from any other Negro upon his plantation ; and so infatuated are the Blacks in general, that but few instances occur of their having assumed courage enough to impeach these miscreants. With minds so firmly prepossessed, they no sooner find the *Obi set for them* near the door of their house, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themselves up for lost. When a Negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the *Obeah man* or woman ; it is then made known among his fellow Blacks, that *Obi is set* for the thief ; and as soon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no resource is left but in the superior skill of some more eminent *Obeah-man* of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other ; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if after gaining such an ally he should still fancy himself affected, he presently falls into a decline, under the incessant horror of impending calamities. The slightest painful sensation

BOOK fation in the head, the bowels, or any other part, IV. any casual loss or hurt, confirms his apprehensions, and he believes himself the devoted victim of an invisible and irresistible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulness, forsake him; his strength decays, his disturbed imagination is haunted without respite, his features wear the settled gloom of despondency: dirt, or any other unwholesome substance, become his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually sinks into the grave. A Negro, who is taken ill, enquires of the *Obeah-man* the cause of his sickness, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he shall die or recover? The oracle generally ascribes the distemper to the malice of some particular person by name, and advises to set *Obi* for that person; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate despair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain consequence. Those anomalous symptoms which originate from causes deeply rooted in the mind, such as the terrors of *Obi*, or from poisons, whose operation is slow and intricate, will baffle the skill of the ablest physician.

“ Considering the multitude of occasions which may provoke the Negroes to exercise the powers of *Obi* against each other, and the astonishing influence of this superstition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very considerable portion of the annual mortality among the Negroes of Jamaica to this fascinating mischief.

“ The *Obi* is usually composed of a farrago of materials, most of which are enumerated in the Jamaica law*, viz. “ Blood, feathers, parrot’s “ beaks, dog’s teeth, alligator’s teeth, broken “ bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-shells.”

* Passed 1760.

“ With

“ With a view to illustrate the description we C H A P. have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have subjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica; not that they are peculiar to that island only, for we believe similar examples may be found in other West India colonies. *Pere Labat*, in his History of Martinico, has mentioned some which are very remarkable *.

“ It may seem extraordinary, that a practice alledged to be so frequent in Jamaica should not have received an earlier check from the legislature. The truth is, that the skill of some Negroes in the art of poisoning has been noticed ever since the colonists became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practised physic in Jamaica in the last century, have mentioned particular instances of it. The secret and insidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suspicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: these murderers have sometimes been brought to justice, but it is reasonable to believe that a far greater number have escaped with impunity. In regard to the other and more common tricks of *Obi*, such as hanging up feathers, bottles, eggshells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate Negroes of a thievish disposition from plundering huts, hog-sty, or provision-grounds, these were laughed at by the White inhabitants as harmless stratagems, contrived by the more sagacious, for deterring the more simple and superstitious Blacks, and serving for much the same purpose as the scare-crows which are in general used among our English farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable

* Tome ii. p. 59. 447. 499. 506.

insurrection

BOOK insurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold Coast IV. Negroes broke out in the parish of St. Mary, and spread through almost every other district of the island, an old Koromantyn Negroe, the chief instigator and oracle of the insurgents in that parish, who had administered the Fetish or solemn oath to the conspirators, and furnished them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution struck the insurgents with a general panic, from which they never afterwards recovered. The examinations which were taken at that period first opened the eyes of the public to the very dangerous tendency of the *Obeah* practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their suppression and punishment. But neither the terror of this law, the strict investigation which has ever since been made after the professors of *Obi*, nor the many examples of those who from time to time have been hanged or transported, have hitherto produced the desired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this sect, like others in the world, has flourished under persecution; or that fresh supplies are annually introduced from the African seminaries.

The following is the paper referred to in the preceding account.

OBEAH PRACTICE.

“ We have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the strictest veracity, who is now in London, and ready to attest the truth of them.

“ Upon

“ Upon returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, C H A P. III.
he found that a great many of his Negroes had died during his absence ; and that of such as remained alive, at least one half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day ; others were taken ill, and began to decline under the same symptoms. Every means were tried by medicines, and the most careful nursing, to preserve the lives of the feeblest, but in spite of all his endeavours, this depopulation went on for above a twelvemonth longer, with more or less intermission, and without his being able to ascertain the real cause, though the *Obeah* practice was strongly suspected, as well by himself as by the doctor and other White persons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the island, and particularly among the Negroes of the *Papa* or *Popo* country. Still he was unable to verify his suspicions, because the patients constantly denied their having any thing to do with persons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a Negress, who had been ill for some time, came one day and informed him, that feeling it was impossible for her to live much longer, she thought herself bound in duty, before she died, to impart a very great secret, and acquaint him with the true cause of her disorder, in hopes that the disclosure might prove the means of stopping that mischief, which had already swept away such a number of her fellow-slaves. She proceeded to say, that her step-mother (a woman of the *Popo* country, above eighty years old, but still hale and active) had put *Obi* upon her, as she had also done upon those who had lately died ; and that the old woman had

BOOK had practised *Obi* for as many years past as she IV. could remember.

“ The other Negroes of the plantation no sooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their master, and confirmed the truth of it, adding, that she had carried on this business ever since her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood.—Upon this he repaired directly, with six White servants, to the old woman’s house, and forcing open the door, observed the whole inside of the roof (which was of thatch) and every crevice of the walls, stuck with the implements of her trade, consisting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thousand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, close covered, was found concealed under her bed.—It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside, and variously compounded, some with hair and rags or feathers of all sorts, and strongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper section of the skulls of cats, or stuck round with cats teeth and claws, or with human or dogs teeth, and some glass beads of different colours; there were also a great many eggshells filled with a viscous or gummy substance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine, and many little bags stuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this distance of time be recollected. The house was instantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidst the general acclamations of all his other Negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the island, which would have punished her with death; but, from a principle of

of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a CHAP. party of Spaniards, who (as she was thought not III. incapable of doing some trifling kind of work) were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure his Negroes seemed all to be animated with new spirits, and the malady spread no farther among them. The total of his losses in the course of about fifteen years preceding the discovery, and imputable solely to the *Obeah practice*, he estimates, at least, at one hundred Negroes."

O B E A H T R I A L S.

" Having received some further information upon this subject from another Jamaica gentleman, who sat upon *two* trials, we beg leave to deliver the same in his own words, as a supplement to what we have already had the honour of submitting.

" In the year 1760, the influence of the professors of the *Obeah art* was such, as to induce a great many of the Negroe slaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave rise to the law which was then made against the practice of *Obi*.

" Assurance was given to these deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in order to render them so, the *Obeah-men* furnished them with a powder, with which they were to rub themselves.

" In the first engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many prisoners taken; amongst the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to disclose many important matters,

on

BOOK on condition that his life should be spared ; which
IV. was promised. He then related the active part
which the Negroes, known among them by the
name of *Obeah-men*, had taken in propagating
the insurrection ; one of whom was thereupon
apprehended, tried (for rebellious conspiracy)
convicted, and sentenced to death.

N. B. This was the Koromantyn Obeah-man
alluded to in our first paper.

“ At the place of execution, he bid defiance to
the executioner, telling him, that “ It was not in
the power of the White people to kill him.”—
And the Negroes (spectators) were greatly per-
plexed when they saw him expire. Upon other
Obeah-men, who were apprehended at that time,
various experiments were made with electrical
machines and magic lanterns, but with very little
effect, except on one, who, after receiving some
very severe shocks, acknowledged that “ his
master’s *Obi* exceeded his own.”

“ The gentleman from whom we have this ac-
count, remembers having sat *twice* on trials of
Obeah-men, who were both convicted of selling
their *Obeah preparations*, which had occasioned
the death of the parties to whom they had been
administered ; notwithstanding which, the lenity
of their judges prevailed so far, that they were
only punished with transportation. To prove the
fact, two witnesses were deemed necessary, with
corroborating circumstances.”

C H A P. IV.

Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa.—Observations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the British Nation only.—The probable consequences of such a measure, both in Africa and the West Indies, considered.—Disproportions of sexes in the number of Slaves annually exported from Africa.—Causes thereof.—Mode of transporting Negroes to the West Indies, and regulations recently established by act of parliament.—Effect of those regulations.

IT hath been observed in the preceding chapter, that no certain and precise account is easily to be obtained of the means by which the market for slaves is annually kept up and supported in Africa. The several instances that are given of slavery, arising from captivity in war, delinquency and debt, seem inadequate to so regular and abundant a supply. It is difficult to imagine that casual contributions of this kind, can possibly furnish an annual export of 74,000 *. Having an opportu-

C H A P.
IV.

* Besides which, great numbers are supplied from the nations bordering on the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, for the emperor of Morocco and the states of Barbary. Caravans also travel from thence across the continent to Upper Egypt with considerable supplies of Negroes, some of which are sent afterwards to Constantinople. A very curious and interesting account of this traffic is given in the Report of the Lords of the Privy Council. Great numbers of slaves are likewise sent from Mozambique, and the ports on the eastern coast, to Persia, Goa, and other parts of the East Indies. Hence it has been calculated that Africa is drained annually of not less than 150,000 of its natives.

BOOK IV. nity, a few years ago, of consulting a very intelligent person on this point, who had visited many parts of the coast, and appeared to be a man of veracity and candour, I received from him, in writing, an answer, which I shall present to my readers *verbatim*; and subjoin such further information as I have been able to collect. The answer which I received, was given in the words following:—" In all parts of the coast, and I apprehend it to be the same inland, the body of the people are in a state of absolute and unlimited slavery: their children are born to no other inheritance, and are liable to be sold by their owners as they think proper. Most parts of the coast differ in their governments; some are absolute monarchies, while others draw near to an aristocracy. In both, the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exercised as often as criminal cases require, unless death is commuted into slavery; in which case the offender is sold, and if the shipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death. Fathers of free condition have power to sell their children, but this power is but very seldom enforced. I never knew an instance of it but once, and then the father was so execrated by his neighbours, for the act of selling a son and daughter, that he shortly afterwards fell into a state of despondency and died. The family was of some distinction, and the son and daughter were brought by a friendly captain, who I know afterwards gave freedom to one of them, and I believe he gave it to both. I never knew another instance of this kind, nor do I believe there is one slave in a thousand procured in this way. Neither do I imagine that there are many procured by wars or intestine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people

people are born slaves to great men, reared as C H A P. such, held as property, and as property sold. IV.

There are indeed many circumstances by which a free man may become a slave: such as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in some of such cases, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewise, become the slaves of his creditors, and may be sold. Adultery is commonly punished in the same manner; both the offending parties being sold, and the purchase-money paid to the injured husband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the Negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poisoning) is another, and a very common offence, for which slavery is adjudged the lawful punishment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes which subject the offender and his children to be sold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy."

Such is the account which I received, and it is confirmed by several of the witnesses that were examined by the Committee of the Privy Council, and by others that appeared before the House of Commons; but it is contradicted in some material circumstances by other gentlemen, whose examinations were taken at the same time, and to whose authority much respect is due. Mr. Penny asserts, that although three-fourths of the inhabitants of the Windward Coast are slaves to the other fourth, yet that these local and domestic slaves are never sold, unless for crimes. He is of opinion that in no country, either in the maritime districts or in the interior parts of Africa, are slaves bred for sale, but that most of those which are disposed of to the Europeans, are sold in consequence

BOOK sequence of delinquency, or captivity in war.

IV. The same, or nearly the same, account is given of the Fantyn nation by Mr. Norris; who observes, that "a considerable portion of the community are persons born slaves, but that these have peculiar privileges, and enjoy many advantages, which the slaves of the neighbouring countries do not, and cannot be sold at the caprice of their masters." His opinion is, that the number of slaves furnished in the Fantyn country (about 2000 annually) is made up by delinquency and debt.

Under such contradictory information, it occurred to me, during my residence in Jamaica, to examine many of the Negroes themselves. I mean Negroes newly arrived from Africa; for from those who have resided any length of time in the West Indies, it is difficult to obtain, even to enquiries of an indifferent nature, such answers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is seldom, for instance, that any Guiney Negro will acknowledge that he was in a state of slavery in his native country. Observing the respect and preheminence allowed to wealth and consequence among the Whites, and the privileges which attach to freedom in the West Indies, among those of his own colour who are born or rendered free, he is tempted, whether justly or not, to assert his claim to some degree of consideration from his past, if not from his present condition; and it is a natural and excusable propensity. Conceiving therefore that the truth might be best obtained from Negroes recently imported, I enquired of many young people, from different parts of Africa, concerning the circumstances of their captivity and sale, and, having reduced their information to writing, I interrogated many of them again on the

the same subject, after an interval of several C H A P. months. If the same account precisely was given IV. by the same people a second time, I commonly considered it as grounded in truth. On other occasions, I have examined brothers and sisters apart. If their information agreed in minute particulars, I could have no reason to suspect them of falsehood. Of five-and-twenty young persons of both sexes whom I thus interrogated, fifteen frankly declared that they were born to slavery, and were either sold to pay the debts, or bartered away to supply the wants of their owners. Five were secretly kidnapped in the interior country, and sold to black merchants, who conveyed them from an immense distance to the sea-coast, and sold them to the ship-masters that brought them to Jamaica. The other five appeared to have fallen victims in some of those petty wars which it is probable rapacity and revenge reciprocally instigate throughout the whole continent of Africa *. On such occasions, the young and the

* Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to be presented with a few of these examinations, as they were taken down at the time, and without any view to publication.

Adam (a Congo) a boy as I guess about fourteen, his country name *Sarri*, came from a vast distance inland, was waylaid and stole, in the path about three miles from his own village, by one of his countrymen. It was early in the morning, and the man hid him all day in the woods, and marched him in the night. He was conducted in this manner for a month, and then sold to another Black man for a gun, some powder and shot, and a quantity of salt. He was sold a second time for a keg of brandy. His last-mentioned purchaser bought several other boys in the same manner, and when he had collected twenty, sent them down to the sea-coast, where they were sold to a captain of a ship. He relates further, that his father, *Scindia Quante*, was a chief or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he sold as slaves.

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK the able are carried into captivity by the victors,
 IV. and the aged and infirm commonly murdered on
 the spot. By these means, and the commutation
 of death into slavery for crimes real and pretended,
 are the nations of Europe supplied; and it
 cannot

Quaw and *Quamina* (brothers) from the Gold Coast, one
 of them, as I guess, about twenty years old, the other eighteen,
 were born slaves to a man named *Banafou*, who had a
 great many other slaves, and sold these two to the captain
 that brought them to Jamaica. On being asked for what
 cause their master sold them, they supposed the question implied
 a charge against them of misconduct, and one of them
 replied with great quickness, that they were not the only
 slaves that were sold in Guiney without having been guilty of
 any crime: their master, they said, owed money, and sold
 them to pay his debts.

Afiba, a Gold Coast girl, aged about fifteen, was a slave to
 a man named *Quamina Yati*. Her master sold her and two
 others to the same captain, for a quantity of linen and other
 goods.

Yamoufa, a *Chamba* youth, about sixteen, was a slave to a
 person named *Soubadou*; who sold him, together with a cow,
 for a gun, a quantity of other goods, and some brandy.

Oliver, from *Affantee*—his country name *Sang*—a young
 man, as I guess, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of
 age. His father was a free man, a carpenter—lived in a vil-
 lage far from the sea. The village was attacked by a party of
Fantees, who came in the night, and set fire to the houses,
 and killed most of the inhabitants with guns and cutlasses—
 particularly the old. The young people they took prisoners,
 and afterwards sold him and two others, for a piece of gold
 called *sea*, to a Black merchant, who carried them to the
Fantee country.—He was afterwards sold or transferred over
 to six different Black purchasers; the last of whom carried
 him down to the sea-coast, and sold him on board a ship.—Was
 much frightened at the sight of White men, and thought he
 was to be eaten.

Ether relates that she was born in the *Ebo* country, about
 one day's journey from the sea-coast, where her grandmother
 lived, to whom she was sent on a visit by her father. While
 there, the village was attacked by a body of Negroes (she
 knows not of what country, nor on what account) on whose
 approach she and all the women were sent into the woods,
 where

cannot surely be a question, amongst a humane C H A P. and enlightened people, concerning the unlawfulness of a traffic thus supported. To attempt its defence in all cases, were to offer an insult to the common sense of mankind, and an outrage on the best feelings of our nature. Yet a good mind may honestly derive some degree of consolation in considering that all such of the wretched victims as were slaves in Africa, are, by being sold to the Whites, removed to a situation infinitely more desirable, even in its worst state, than that of the best and most favoured slaves in their native country. It is, on all hands, admitted that the condition of those poor people, under their own governments, is the most deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be subject to. They have no security for property, nor protection for their persons; they exist at the will and caprice of a master, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may flayghter them at his pleasure. He has in truth but very little interest in their preservation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when provisions are scarce, he has even a strong inducement to destroy them.

The chief objection to the slave trade arises from the great encouragement which I fear it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppression, and fraud among the natives towards each other. Without doubt, this is the strong

where a party of the enemy found them, and carried away all such as were able to travel. The old, and those who were averse to remove, were put to death; her grandmother among the rest. The third day she was sold to the White people. She has many marks about the chest, which she appeals to as a proof of free birth, and asserts that her father had a plantation of corn, yams, and tobacco, and possessed many slaves.

BOOK part of the petitioners case; and I admit it to be
 IV. so, with that frankness which I trust no honest
 West Indian will condemn. At the same time it
 deserves very serious consideration, whether a
 direct and immediate discontinuance of the trade
 by the British nation only (the other nations of
 Europe continuing to purchase as usual) would
 afford a remedy to those miseries, the existence
 of which every enlightened mind cannot but
 admit, and every good mind must deplore; or
 rather, whether a partial and sudden abolition
 (so inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate
 them in a high degree.

In considering this question, we must have in
 view not only the circumstances attending the
 Slave Trade on the Coast, but also the situation
 of the enslaved Negroes already in the Sugar
 Colonies. On the first head, it is to be enquired
 whether, supposing Great Britain should abandon
 her share in this commerce, a less number of
 slaves would in consequence thereof be brought
 down for sale in Africa? Admiral Edwards, who
 served on the station, and was on shore seven
 months at a time, is decidedly of opinion that,
 so long as other nations continue to purchase, the
 number would not be diminished in the least*; and a little reflection may perhaps convince us
 that his opinion is founded in reason, and the
 nature of the case. Among the commercial na-
 tions of Europe, it is true that, in most cases of
 purchase and barter, the demand and the supply
 grow up together, and continue to regulate and
 support each other: but these are the arrange-
 ments of well-informed and civilised men. In
 Africa, it is apprehended the slave merchants

* See his evidence in the Report of the Committee of
 Privy Council, 1789.

possess no ideas of this kind, neither does the nature of their traffic allow of such regulations. When two African states are at war with each other, the aim of each undoubtedly is to destroy as many enemies, or seize on as great a number of captives, as possible. Of these last unfortunate victims, all such as are able to travel, are commonly sent down to the coast for sale, the rest are massacred on the spot, and the same fate attends those unhappy wretches who, being sent down, are found unsaleable. The prices indeed on the coast have been known to vary as the market is more or less plentifully supplied; but, so long as ships from Europe create a market, whether the prices be high or low, it can hardly be doubted that wars will be as frequent as ever, and that the same acts of oppression, violence and fraud, which are said to be committed by princes on their subjects, and by individuals on each other, for the purpose of procuring slaves for sale, will exist as usual, without regulation or restraint.

Behold then an excess of 38,000 of these miserable people (the present annual export in British shipping) thrown upon the market, and it is surely more than probable that one or the other of these consequences will follow: Either the French, the Dutch, and the other maritime nations of Europe, by seizing on what we surrender, will encrease their trade in proportion to the encreased supply *, or, having the choice and refusal of 38,000 more than they have at present, will become more difficult to please; confining their purchases to such

* Admiral Edwards being asked, Whether, if Great Britain were to relinquish the trade in slaves, the number sold to Europeans would, in his opinion, be much diminished? replied, Most certainly it would not be diminished. The French and Dutch would immediately get possession of this trade.

only

BOOK only as are called prime slaves. Thus the old, IV. and the very young, the sickly and the feeble, will be scornfully rejected; and perhaps *twenty* poor wretches be considered as unsaleable then, and sacrificed accordingly, to *one* that is so considered and sacrificed now.

That this latter supposition is not a mere speculative contingency, is abundantly proved by many respectable witnesses, whose examinations were taken by the committee of the privy council:—Being asked concerning the disposal of such slaves as are rejected by the European traders, either because their cargoes are already assorted, or because the miserable victims are considered as too old or too feeble for labour, it was given in evidence, as a fact too notorious to be controverted, that they are very frequently, if not generally, put to death. The slave merchant, not having the means of maintaining his captives for any length of time, makes no scruple to avow that it is his intention to destroy them, provided they are not sold by a certain day; and the *work of death*, on such occasions, is sometimes performed in sight of our shipping. Shocking as this account may seem, it is verified by undisputed testimony; and to suppose that a discontinuance of the trade by one nation only, will put an end to this enormity, is to suppose that the African slaveholder will become more merciful, as his slaves are rendered of less value; a conclusion which I am afraid experience will not warrant *.

The

* Mr. Newton (an evidence in support of the application to parliament for an abolition of the trade) admits that some of the slaves, that have been rejected by the Europeans, have been knocked on the head with the paddles of the boat that brought them, and thrown overboard. On the Gold Coast, Mr. Miles supposed they are mostly reserved for the purpose of

The effect which a partial abolition would probably have in our sugar islands is now to be considered; and here it must, in the first place, be observed, that it seems not to be known, or is not adverted to, in England, that the sugar estates are not only very much understocked in general, but that there is scarce one of them, for reasons that will presently be seen, that possesses a sufficient number of Negro women, in proportion to the men. Of course there being fewer pairs, there are fewer children born. Thus situated, there must necessarily happen a decrease on the whole number of the slaves, even under the mildest treatment, and enjoying the greatest plenty of wholesome provisions.—Secondly, it must be remembered that most of the sugar estates, having been settled on credit, are burthened with heavy incumbrances to persons in Great Britain. Many planters are under covenants to consign thither annually, certain specific quantities of sugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and un-

of being sacrificed at the burial of great men. One instance of this came within his own knowledge.—Mr. Weeves knew an instance of a woman being destroyed, who was accused of witchcraft, and could not be sold. In order to save her life, he offered to give an anker of brandy for her; but her head was cut off before his messenger arrived. Other instances, similar to this, are related by Mr. Mathews and Mr. Gandy. Sir George Young saved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone. The child being too young to be an object of trade, would have been thrown into the river by the person that had him to sell, but Sir George, to save his life, offered a quarter cask of Madeira wine for him, which was accepted—he brought him to England, and made a present of him to the Marquis of Lansdown.—Admiral Edwards, Mr. Penny, Mr. Dalzel, Mr. Anderson, and others, concur in the same account of the disposal of such as are rejected by the Europeans.

Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, 1789, Part 1st.

qualified

C H A P.
IV.

BOOK qualified abolition would be this, that while the
IV. few persons who have money at command, would
be waiting, and perhaps contriving, opportunities
to stock their plantations with the slaves of their
distressed and harrassed neighbours, the great ma-
jority of planters would find themselves in a most
cruel and uncomfortable situation; their estates
already weak-handed, deprived of the possibility
of selling their lands, and no means in their
power of augmenting their stock of labourers by
purchase; their creditors, at the same time, cla-
morous and importunate for produce, which can
only be obtained by great exertions of labour:
In such circumstances what are they to do? I
cannot better illustrate this part of my subject
than by the case of the Dutch planters of Esse-
quebo and Demerary: by an impolitic interdic-
tion of foreign slave ships into those provinces,
they have, for some time past, felt all the effects
of a virtual abolition; and here follows the ac-
count which they give of their situation, transcrib-
ed from a late memorial to the States General:—
“ It is impossible, (say the petitioners) to inform
your High Mightinesses of the real annual dimi-
nution of our slaves, but it is generally calculated
at five in the hundred, or a twentieth part. This
is little felt the first year: nineteen remaining
Negroes hardly perceive that they do the work
which the preceding year employed twenty. But
the second year the same work falls to the share
of eighteen, and, if another year passes without
an augmentation by purchase, seventeen must do
the work first allotted to twenty. This must give
rise to discontent, desertion and revolt; or, if the
Negroes put up patiently with this surcharge of
labour, illnes and an earlier death must be the
consequence. Or, lastly, if the planters seek to
avoid

avoid all these inconveniences, they must gradually contract the limits of their plantations, and of course diminish their produce." — Thus immediate interest in all cases, and urgent distress in many, are opposed to the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity!

What I have thus deliberately written, is not, if I know my own heart, the language of selfishness, or party. I confess that, reflecting on the means by which slaves are very frequently obtained in Africa, and the destruction that formerly attended the mode of transporting them to the West Indies, I was at one time of opinion it became this great and renowned nation, instead of regulating her conduct by that of other states, to set a laudable example to *them*, by an immediate and unqualified suppression of this reprobated commerce; and I should still maintain and avow the same sentiments, were I not, on fuller enquiry and better information, led to suspect that *the means proposed are not adequate to the end*. I fear that a direct and sudden abolition, by one nation alone, will not serve the purposes of humanity in Africa; and I am fully convinced that such a measure will tend to aggravate, in a very high degree, the miseries of a great majority of the Negroes already in the West Indies; whose decreasing population is at present unavoidable; and who therefore, unless recruited by supplies from Africa, must find their labours augment, as their numbers diminish.

The next object to which it was proposed to direct our enquiries, is the mode of conveying slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and their mortality in the voyage; constituting the second ground on which most of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have rested their

BOOK their application. But before I proceed to consider this part of my subject, it may not be improper to offer a few observations concerning the great disproportion of sexes in the purchases that are made on the coast; it being a well-known fact, that of the vast numbers of slaves annually exported from Africa, about one-third only are females. This circumstance has been tortured into a charge of criminal neglect and improvident avarice against the planters of the West Indies, who are supposed from thence to have no wish of making their slaves even as happy as their situation will admit, or of keeping up their numbers by natural increase. How far these charges are founded, let the following testimony of a very competent witness, determine:—“ The disproportion in the number of male and female slaves exported from Africa (says Mr. Barnes *) appears to me to be imputable to the three following causes: First, to the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. Secondly, to some of the very causes of slavery itself; men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and in all such cases, where males and females are involved in the same calamity, the first cause still has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are sold for slaves. Thirdly, to the circumstance that females become unfit for the slave-market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable slave at twenty-two, or twenty-three years of age, whereas a healthy well-made man will not be objected to at four or five-and-thirty; consequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for

* Report of the Committee of Council, 1789.

sale,

sale, a much greater proportion of the females C H A P. would be rejected on that account only. With IV. regard to the question, Whether the European traders prefer purchasing males rather than females? I have to observe, that though it is impossible to conduct the business, either of a house or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet as the nature of the slave-service in the West Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires, for the immediate interest of the planter, a greater number of males, the European trader would of course wish to purchase his assortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the case* for the reasons already mentioned; so that in most parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many saleable females as will form any tolerable assortment." The application of these remarks will hereafter be seen.—I now return to the manner of transporting the slaves thus purchased, from Africa to the West Indies.

It is difficult, I think, to assign any probable reason or motive why the treatment of these poor people at sea should be otherwise than as humane and indulgent as the safety of the crew will admit. Many shocking instances were however adduced, in the evidence delivered to the committee of privy council, of most outrageous and wanton barbarity and cruelty exercised towards them in different ships; but, as the witnesses that were brought forward to establish those charges were not the most respectable in point of character; and in some cases were proved to have suits at law with the captains against whom they gave evidence, I shall collect my account from less disputable authority.

It is admitted on all hands that the men-slaves are secured in irons when they first come on board;

BOOK board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the IV. king's service, who appears to be well acquainted with the trade in all its branches, is of opinion, that this is not practised more than necessity requires. The mode is, by fastening every two men together, the right ankle of one being locked, by means of a small iron fetter, to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent disposition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wrists. On the passage, when danger is no longer apprehended, these irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning*. They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being separated from each other by bulk-heads; and fresh air is admitted by means of windfalls or ventilators. Covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the constant practice of going naked, would be insupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the mean time, are washed, scraped, fumigated, and sprinkled with vinegar. The first attention paid to them in the morning is to supply them with water to wash their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal, which, according to the country from whence they come, consists either of Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon they are constantly and regularly made to bathe in salt-water, than which nothing can be more agreeable and refreshing. Their dinner is varied, consisting sometimes of food to which they have been accustomed in Africa, as yams and Indian

* The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from fifteen years of age to thirty.—The lowest size four feet.

corn, &c. and at other times of provisions brought C H A P. from Europe, as dried beans and pease, wheat, shelled barley, and biscuit, all which are boiled soft in steam, and mixed up with a sauce made of meat, or fish, or palm-oil ; a constant and desirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewise a sufficiency of fresh water ; unless when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preservation of the ship compels the captain to put them to a short allowance. Drams also are given them when the weather is cold or wet ; and pipes and tobacco whenever they desire them. In the intervals between their meals they are encouraged to divert themselves with music and dancing ; for which purpose such rude and uncouth instruments as are used in Africa, are collected before their departure ; and they are also permitted to amuse themselves with games of chance, for which they are likewise furnished with implements of African invention. In sickness, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hospital built near the forecastle ; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumstances will admit ; and when, fortunately for the Negroes, the ship touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreshment that the country affords, as cocoanuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all sorts, are distributed among them ; and refreshments of the same kind are freely allowed them at the place of their destination, between the days of arrival and sale.

From this account, which is confirmed by the testimony of a great number of respectable men, many of whom were wholly disinterested in the question, and could therefore have no motive to violate

BOOK violate or suppress the truth, it may be supposed
IV. that every scheme which can easily be devised to
preserve the Negroes in health, cleanliness, and
cheerfulness, is adopted in the voyage. So dread-
ful, notwithstanding, has been the mortality in
several ships, wherein these precautions were used,
as to evince, beyond all contradiction, that there
was something in those instances intrinsically
wrong; and it cannot be doubted that the mis-
chief has been ascribed to its proper cause, namely,
the criminal rapaciousness of many of the
ship-masters in purchasing more Negroes than
their accommodations were calculated to convey.
It appeared in evidence before the House of Com-
mons, that a ship of 240 tons would frequently
be crowded with no less than 520 slaves; which
was not allowing ten inches of room to each in-
dividual. The consequence of this inexcusable
avarice, was oftentimes a loss of fifteen per cent.
in the voyage, and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more in the har-
bours of the West Indies, previous to the sale,
from diseases contracted at sea;—a destruction of
the human species on which it is impossible to re-
flect without indignation and horror!

To the several arguments, however, which
have been raised on the ground of these abuses,
in support of the scheme of abolition, a very short
answer may be given:—Admit all the miseries
and destructive wretchedness which have been
placed to this account to have existed in full force,
and it will still remain to be enquired whether
measures of less powerful operation than a total
suppression of the trade, will not obviate in fu-
ture the evils complained of; because, if regula-
tions alone are sufficient for that purpose, aboli-
tion cannot be necessary. Regulations have ac-
cordingly been framed and enforced under the
authority

authority of the British parliament, of which the C H A P. certain effect ought surely to be known, before the evils they are meant to redress are pronounced irremediable. By an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty (since renewed and amended) the slave ships are restricted to the conveyance of five slaves to every three tons; and even this proportion is allowed only as far as 201 tons. For every additional ton they are limited to one additional slave*. To these important precautions for securing to the Negroes a sufficiency of room, is added the necessary provision of a regularly qualified surgeon; to whom, as well as to the ship-master, very liberal encouragement is given, to induce both of them to exert every provident endeavour in preserving their unfortunate captives in health and spirits: the sum of one hundred pounds being allowed to the master, and £.50 to the surgeon, if the loss on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half those sums if the loss shall not exceed three in the hundred.

Of the full effect which this system of restriction and encouragement hath hitherto produced in all the British colonies, I am not informed; but judging by returns which I have obtained from one of the principal marts in the West Indies, it would seem to have been found, in a very eminent degree, advantageous and salutary. At the port of Montego-Bay, in Jamaica, the Negroes imported between the 18th day of November 1789, and the 15th of July 1791, were 9,993,

* It is also provided, that vessels not exceeding 201 tons shall not carry of *male* slaves (exceeding four feet four inches in height) more than one for each ton, and vessels of larger size more than three such *males* for every five tons. This regulation seems intended as an encouragement to the export of a greater proportion of females.

in

BOOK in 38 ships; the mortality at sea, exclusive of the loss of 54 Negroes in a mutiny on the coast, was IV. 746, which is somewhat under seven per cent. on the whole number of slaves. This, though much less, I believe, than the average loss which commonly happened before the regulating law took place, is, I admit, sufficiently great; and, had it prevailed in any degree *equally* on the several ships concerned, might, perhaps, have been considered as a fair estimate of the general mortality consequent on the trade, notwithstanding the precautions and provisions of the regulating act. But on examining the list, I find that eight of the 38 ships, were entitled to, and actually received, the full premium; two others received the half premium; and one other (a schooner that sailed from Jamaica to the coast before the act took place) returned without the loss of a single Negro. Of 746 deaths, no less than 328 occurred in four ships only, all of which, with five other vessels, comprehending the whole number of ships in which three-fifths of the mortality occurred, came from the same part of the coast, the Bight of Benin; a circumstance that gives room to conclude (as undoubtedly was the fact) that the Negroes from that part of the country brought disease and contagion with them from the land; an epidemic fever and flux generally prevailing on the low marshy shores of the Bonny rivers, during the autumnal months, which sometimes proves even more destructive on shore than at sea.

Perhaps the truest criterion by which to estimate the beneficial effect of the regulating law, is the comparatively trifling loss that now occurs in the harbours of the West Indies before the Guiney ships open their sales. This mortality, which

which was formerly estimated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and was manifestly the consequence of sickness or improper treatment in the voyage, is now happily mitigated in so great a degree, that out of the whole number of 9,993 slaves imported into Montego-Bay as before stated, the loss between the days of arrival and sale, was no more than 69, or not quite $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Enough therefore hath been effected to demonstrate, that it is by no means impossible, nor indeed a very difficult matter, to render the conveyance of Negroes from Africa to the West Indies, as little prejudicial to their healths, as the transportation of any other body of people across the ocean in any part of the world. Few voyages were more destructive to the seamen than that of Lord Anson, and none less so than those of Captain Cook; an incontestable proof that the mortality which has commonly occurred at sea, has at all times arisen from ill-constructed ships, and neglect, or improper management on board.

Concerning the West India planters, as they are intirely innocent and ignorant of the manner in which the Slave Trade is conducted (having no other concern therein than becoming purchasers of what British acts of parliament have made object of sale) so it is equally consonant to their interest and their wishes, that effectual means should be pursued for preserving the health of the Negroes, by securing to them proper and reasonable accommodation on the passage. The assembly of Jamaica, instead of remonstrating against that augmentation in the price of slaves, which they must have foreseen that the act of the British parliament would necessarily create, with the liberality of dignified minds applauded the principle of the measure, declaring it to be founded in necessity;

BOOK sity, justice, and humanity, and expressed their IV. opinion that the wisdom and authority of parliament might be beneficially exerted in further regulations of the African commerce, particularly in preventing the detention of ships on the coast ; in prohibiting the purchase of slaves who should appear to have been kidnapped ; in compelling the slave-ships to transport an equal number of both sexes, and to provide ventilators and a sufficient quantity of provisions, especially water : such a recommendation it might be supposed would engage immediate attention, not only as coming from men who are certainly the best judges of its propriety and necessity, but also because the means of enforcing most of the regulations which they recommend are practicable and apparent.

Having thus, I presume, sufficiently treated of the means by which slaves are procured for sale in Africa, and the regulations that have been established by the British parliament for their better conveyance to the Sugar Islands, I shall proceed, in the next chapter, to a detail of their general treatment and situation there, immediately on and after their arrival, and distribution among the planters.

C H A P. V.

Arrival and sale in the West Indies.—Negroes newly purchased, how disposed of and employed.—Detail of the management of Negroes on a sugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houses, clothing, and medical care.—Abuses.—Late regulations for their protection and security—Causes of their annual decrease.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildest form unfriendly to population.—General observations.—Proposals for the further meliorating the condition of the Slaves, with which the subject concludes.

THE arrival of a Guiney ship in the West Indies is announced by public advertisement, specifying the number of Negroes imported, the country from whence, and day of sale. It was the practice until of late, to open the sale on ship-board, the males being arranged in one part of the ship, and the females in another: but, as visitors of all descriptions were admitted without hesitation or enquiry, it frequently happened, when slave ships were scarce, that such crowds of people went on board, and began so disgraceful a scramble, as to terrify the poor ignorant Africans with the notion that they were seized on by a herd of cannibals, and speedily to be devoured. The wisdom of the legislature of Jamaica has corrected this enormity in the island, by enacting that the sales shall be conducted on shore, and that care shall be taken not to separate different

BOOK branches of the same family. I am afraid it hath
IV. been found difficult, in all cases, to enforce this
latter regulation; but it is usual with most planters,
I believe, to enquire of the Negroes themselves,
by means of an interpreter, whether they have
relations on board, and to purchase families to-
gether; or, by exchanging with other buyers, to
prevent, if possible, that cruel separation between
parents and children, and brothers and sisters,
which must sometimes, I doubt, unavoidably take
place. I never knew an instance where such pur-
chase or accommodation was knowingly declined
or refused*.

Although there is something extremely shock-
ing to a humane and cultivated mind, in the idea
of beholding a numerous body of our unfortu-
nate fellow creatures, in captivity and exile, ex-
posed naked to public view, and sold like a herd
of cattle, yet I could never perceive (except in
the cases that have been mentioned of a scram-
ble on ship-board) that the Negroes themselves
were oppressed with many of those painful sensa-
tions which a person unaccustomed to the scene
would naturally attribute to such apparent wretch-
edness. The circumstance of being exposed
naked, is perhaps of little account to those who
were never sensible of the necessity or propriety
of being clothed. The climate requires it not,
nor are the Negroes, though naked, destitute of
decorations, on which, at their first arrival, they
seem to set a much higher estimation than on rai-
ment; most of the nations of Africa having their

* Since this was written, the author of his work had the
honour of proposing to the assembly of Jamaica an act which
was unanimously adopted, and is now an existing law, by which
the Guiney factors are compelled, under the solemnity of an
oath, to do their utmost to enforce the regulation alluded to.
skin,

skin, particularly on the forehead, the breast, C H A P. and round the waist, punctured or impressed with V. figures and representations of different kinds (squares, circles, triangles, and crescents) similar to the practice which prevails in *Otabcite*, and the other islands of the South Sea, called *tatowring*, as described in the *voyages* of Captain Cook. Like those islanders too, some of the newly-imported Negroes display these marks with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure, either considering them as highly ornamental, or appealing to them as testimonies of distinction in Africa; where, in some cases, they are said to indicate free birth and honourable parentage *. The Negroes are apprised also, before their arrival, that they are to be employed in tillage; and, knowing that they were bought with money, expect to be sold in the same manner. They display therefore, on being brought to market, very few signs of lamentation for their past, or of apprehension for their future condition; but, wearied out with confinement at sea, commonly express great eager-

* Some of the Negroes of the Gold Coast, or the adjacent countries (the *Chamba* Negroes for instance) appear to me to use the same, or nearly the same marks as the savages of New Zealand; viz. deep incisions on each cheek drawn circularly from the ear to the mouth. (*Vide Hawkesworth's Voyages*, vol. iii. c. 9.) It is ridiculous enough, that some of the writers against the slave trade should ascribe these marks of superstition or false taste to the cruelty of the planters, and gravely assert that they are the scars of horrible gashes inflicted by the bloody hand of tyranny in the wantonness of punishment. The Reverend Mr. Clarkson catches very eagerly at this idea, and asserts with great solemnity, that “ it is a “ matter of constant lamentation with disinterested people, “ who, out of curiosity, attend the Negro markets in Jamaica, “ that they are not able to turn their eyes on any group of “ Negroes without beholding these inhuman marks of passion, “ despotism, and caprice !”

BOOKS to be sold ; presenting themselves, when the buyers are few, with cheerfulness and alacrity for selection, and appearing mortified and disappointed when refused. If it happens, as it frequently does, when the purchasers have leisure and opportunity to inspect them individually, that some bodily defect or blemish is discovered in any of them, the majority seem highly diverted at the circumstance; manifesting, by loud and repeated bursts of laughter, that reflection constitutes no very predominant part of their character *.

The buyer having completed his assortment, and cloathed his newly-acquired subjects with a coarse German linen, called Oznaburghs, and provided them also with hats, handkerchiefs, and knives, sends them to the place of their intended residence†: and now a practice prevails in Jamaica, which I myself, unacquainted as I then was with the actual management in detail of a sugar plantation, and residing in a distant country, used to reprobate and exclaim against; but to which I now submit, from a full conviction, founded on experience, of its usefulness and necessity. The practice is that of distributing the newly-imported

* The prices of new Negroes in the West Indies, at this time (1791) are nearly as follows :—An able man in his prime, £.50 sterl. ; an able woman, £.49 sterl. ; a youth approaching to manhood, £.47 sterl. ; a young girl, £.46 sterl. ; boys and girls from £.40 to 45 sterl. , exclusive of the Colonial tax or duty on importation, about twenty shillings more.

† It is the custom among some of the planters in Jamaica, to mark the initials of their name on the shoulder or breast of each newly-purchased Negro, by means of a small silver brand heated in the flame of spirits, as described in a former chapter; but it is growing into disuse, and I believe in the Windward Islands thought altogether unnecessary.

Africans among the old Negroes, as pensioners C H A P. (with some little assistance occasionally given) on V. their little *peculium*, and provision-grounds. This I used to consider as an insupportable hardship on the poor people already settled and domesticated, and I positively and expressly forbade a continuance of the custom in plantations over which I had authority.

On my return to the West Indies, I was surprised to find the old-established Negroes, when young people newly arrived from Africa were sent among them, request, as a particular instance of favour and indulgence to themselves, the revival and continuance of the ancient system; assuring me they had the means of supporting the strangers without difficulty. Many who thus applied, proposed each of them to adopt one of their young country-folks in the room of children they had lost by death, or had been deprived of in Africa; others, because they wished, like the patriarchs of old, to see their sons take to themselves wives from their own nation and kindred; and all of them, I presume, because, among other considerations, they expected to revive and retrace in the conversation of their new visitors, the remembrance and ideas of past pleasures and scenes of their youth. The strangers too were best pleased with this arrangement, and ever afterwards considered themselves as the adopted children of those by whom they were thus protected, calling them parents, and venerating them as such; and I never knew an instance of the violation of a trust thus solicited and bestowed. In the course of eight or ten months, provided they are mildly used and kept free of disease, new people, under these circumstances, become reconciled to the country; begin to get well established in

BOOK in their families, their houses and provision-
IV. grounds; and prove in all respects as valuable
as the native or creole negroes *.

What has hitherto been observed concerning the disposal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to West Indian estates of all descriptions; but as my own personal attention has been chiefly directed to sugar plantations, I would be understood to speak of those more particularly; and shall now proceed to describe the methodical arrangement and distribution of the labour with which they are conducted, as it is unquestionably more severe and constant than that on any other species of landed property in the West Indies.

The Negroes are divided into three sets or classes, usually called *gangs*; the first consisting of the most healthy and robust of the men and women, whose chief business it is, out of crop-time, to clear, hole and plant the ground; and, in crop-time, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the sugar. It is computed, that, in the whole body of the negroes on a well-conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one-third of this description, exclusive of domestics and negro tradesmen, *viz.* carpenters, coopers and masons, with which each well-regulated plantation is provided †. The second

* Generally speaking, a Creole Negro is considered as worth more than one imported; but in a valuation, by indifferent persons, of two able well-disposed Negroes nearly of the same age, the one an African, the other a native, no great difference (if any) would be made. A child just born is valued at £.5.

† The annual profit arising to the owner, from the labour of each able field Negro employed in the cultivation of sugar, may be reckoned at twenty-five pounds sterling money. I reckon

cond gang is composed of young boys and girls; C H A P. women far gone with child, and convalescents, V. who are chiefly employed in weeding the canes, and other light work adapted to their strength and condition; and the third set consist of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green meat for the pigs and sheep; or in weeding the garden, or some such gentle exercise, merely to preserve them from the habits of idleness.

The first gang is summoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of the conch-shell, just before sun-rise. They bring with them, besides their hoes and bills, provisions for breakfast; and are attended by a White person, and a Black superintendant called a driver.—The list being called over, and the names of all the absentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade to breakfast, which is prepared

reckon thus:—A sugar plantation, well conducted, and in a favourable soil, ought to yield as many hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. annually, as there are Negroes belonging to it, the average value of which, for ten years past, may be stated as £.15 sterling the hogshead; but, as every plantation is not thus productive, and the rum, which is generally appropriated to the payment of contingent charges, not being always sufficient for that purpose, I will allow £.10 sterling only, as the clear profit *per* hoghead of the sugar, which therefore is the average value of the labour of each Negro, old and young; and one-third only of the Negroes being able people, their labour may be put at £.30 a head; out of which however must be deducted, the interest on their first cost, and an allowance for the risque of losing them by death or desertion (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expences of the estate) for both which I allow fifteen per cent. This leaves about £.25 sterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each slave.

in

BOOK in the mean time by a certain number of women, IV. whose sole employment it is to act as cooks for the rest. This meal commonly consists of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue and plantains, or as many of those vegetables as they can procure ; seasoned with salt, and cayenne pepper ; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholesome mess. By this time most of the absentees make their appearance, and are sometimes punished for their sluggishness by a few stripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to say that of late years a very slight excuse is generally admitted. The fact is, that when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the sensations of the Negro are distressful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions. Instead of deriving firmness and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, sluggish and languid ; and neither labour nor punishment will animate him to great exertion, until he is revivified by the genial warmth of the sun. At breakfast they are seldom indulged with more than half or three quarters of an hour ; and, having resumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of rest and refreshment ; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of salted or pickled fish, of which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful supper to a meal at noon, pass the hours of recess, either in sleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they please ; or perhaps a few of the more industrious, will employ an hour in their provision-grounds. At two o'clock they are again summoned to the field,

field, where, having been refreshed both by rest ^{CHAP.} and food, they now manifest some signs of vigorous and animated application; although I can with great truth assert, that one English labourer in his own climate would perform at least three times the work of any one Negro in the same period. At sun-set, or very soon after, they are released for the night, (the drudgery, so much complained of in some of the islands to windward, of picking grass, being happily unknown in Jamaica) and if the day has been wet, or their labour harder than usual, they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the days in the latitude of the West Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours, in the service of their master, Sundays and holidays excepted. In the crop season, however, the system is different; for at that time, such of the Negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling houses, often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among seamen; and it is remarkable that at this season, the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other period of the year; a circumstance undoubtedly owing to the free and unrestrained use which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor and syrup.

The practice which prevails in Jamaica of giving the Negroes lands to cultivate, from the produce of which they are expected to maintain themselves (except in the times of scarcity, arising from hurricanes and droughts, when assistance is never denied them) is universally allowed to be judicious and beneficial; producing a happy coalition of interests between the master and the slave.

BOOK slave. The Negro who has acquired by his own IV. labour a property in his master's land, has much to lose; and is therefore less inclined to desert his work. He earns a little money, by which he is enabled to indulge himself in fine clothes on holidays, and gratify his palate with salted meats and other provisions that otherwise he could not obtain; and the proprietor is eased, in a great measure, of the expence of feeding him. In some of the Windward islands they have not land enough for the purpose; nor, in any one of them, are the Negroes so happily accommodated, in this respect, as in the large island of Jamaica; where they are seldom either stinted in quantity of land, or confined as to situation. In fact, if the owner's territory is sufficiently extensive, the Negroes make it a practice to enlarge their own grounds, or exchange them for fresh land, every year. By these means, having quicker and better returns, they raise provisions in abundance, not only for their own use, but also a great surplus to sell. The misfortune is, they trust more to plantain-groves, corn and other vegetables, that are liable to be destroyed by storms, than to what are called *ground provisions*; such as yams, eddoes, potatoes, cassada, and other esculent roots; all which are out of the reach of hurricanes; but prudence is a term that has no place in the Negro-vocabulary. To obviate the mischiefs which fatal experience has proved to flow from this gross inattention, the *Slave Act* of Jamaica obliges, under a penalty, every proprietor of lands to keep, properly cultivated in ground provisions, one acre for every ten Negroes exclusive of the Negro grounds *.

The

* In Jamaica the Negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, besides Sundays and holidays, for

The cottages of the Negroes usually compose C H A P. a small village, the situation of which, for the sake of convenience and water, is commonly near the buildings in which the manufacture of sugar is conducted. They are seldom placed with much regard to order, but, being always intermingled with fruit-trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange (the Negroes' own planting and property) they sometimes exhibit a pleasing and picturesque appearance. To affirm that they are very tolerable habitations, according to the idea which an untravelled Englishman would probably form of the word, were an insult

for cultivating their grounds and carrying their provisions to market. Some of them find time on these days, besides raising provisions, to make a few coarse manufactures, such as mats for beds, bark ropes of a strong and durable texture, wicker chairs and baskets, earthen jars, pans, &c. for all which they find a ready sale; but I cannot say much for the skill and elegance of their workmanship. The most industrious of the Negroes do not, I believe, employ more than sixteen hours in a month in the cultivation of their own provision-gardens (leaving all further care of them to the beneficence of nature) and in favourable seasons this is sufficient. Sunday is their day of market, and it is wonderful what numbers are then seen, hastening from all parts of the country, towards the towns and shipping places, laden with fruits and vegetables, pigs, goats, and poultry, their own property. In Jamaica it is supposed that upwards of 10,000 assemble every Sunday morning in the market of Kingston, where they barter their provisions, &c. for salted beef and pork, or fine linen and ornaments for their wives and children. I do not believe that an instance can be produced of a master's interfering with his Negroes in their *peculium* thus acquired. They are permitted also to dispose at their deaths of what little property they possess; and even to bequeath their grounds or gardens to such of their fellow-slaves as they think proper. These principles are so well-established, that whenever it is found convenient for the owner to exchange the negro grounds for other lands, the Negroes must be satisfied, in money or otherwise, before the exchange takes place. It is universally the practice.

to

BOOK to the reader; but it may honestly be said, that, IV. allowing for the difference of climate, they far excel the cabins of the Scotch and Irish peasants, as described by Mr. Young, and other travellers. They are such, at least, as are commensurate to the desires and necessities of their inhabitants, who build them according to their own fancy both in size and shape, the master allowing the timber, and frequently permitting the estate's carpenters to assist in the building. In general, a cottage for one Negro and his wife, is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and divided into two apartments. It is composed of hard posts driven into the ground, and interlaced with wattles and plaster. The height from the ground to the plate being barely sufficient to admit the owner to walk in upright. The floor is of natural earth, which is commonly dry enough, and the roof thatched with palm thatch, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut-tree; an admirable covering, forming a lasting and impenetrable shelter both against the sun and the rain. Of furniture they have no great matters to boast, nor, considering their habits of life, is much required. The bedstead is a platform of boards, and the bed a mat covered with a blanket; a small table; two or three low stools; an earthen jar for holding water; a few smaller ones; a pail; an iron pot; *calabashes** of different sizes (serving very tolerably for plates, dishes and bowls) make up the rest. Their cookery is conducted in the open air, and, fire-wood being always at hand, they have not only a sufficiency for that purpose, but also for a fire within doors during the night, without which a Negro cannot sleep with comfort. It is made in the middle of one of the two rooms,

* A species of gourd.

and

and the smoke makes its way through the door or C H A P. the thatch. This account of their accommoda- V. tion, however, is confined to the lowest among the field-negroes : tradesmen and domestics are in general vastly better lodged and provided. Many of these have larger houses, with boarded floors, and are accommodated (at their own expence, it is true) with very decent furniture :—a few have even good beds, linen sheets, and mosquito nets, and display a shelf or two of plates and dishes of Queen's or Staffordshire ware.

Of clothing, the allowance of the master is not always so liberal as might be wished, but much more so of late years than formerly *. Few of the Negroes, however, on Sundays and holidays, appear deficient in this point, or shew any want of raiment, not only decent but gaudy.

The circumstances wherein the slaves in the West Indies seem mostly indebted to their owners' liberality, are, I think, those of medical attendance and accommodation when sick. Every plantation, that I am acquainted with, is under the daily or weekly inspection of a practitioner in physic and surgery, who very frequently resides on the spot ; and the planters, being in general men of education themselves, are not easily reconciled, in so important a matter, with such illiterate pretenders in medicine as are very often found in the country parts of England, to the disgrace of the profession. Young men of skill and science are therefore sought for and encouraged ; and as but few single plantations can afford a very liberal allow-

* I believe the Negroes on every plantation in Jamaica, without exception, receive a yearly allowance of Oznaburg-linen, woollen baize, checks, &c. and but very few planters deny them hats, handkerchiefs, and other little articles, as knives, needles and thread, &c. &c.

ance,

BOOK ance, they are permitted to extend their practice
IV. in the neighbourhood *.

For

* The usual recompence to the surgeon for attendance and medicines, is six shillings a head per annum for all the Negroes on the estate, whether sick or well. Amputations, difficult cases in midwifery, inoculation, &c. are paid for exclusively, and on a liberal scale. A property having 500 Negroes contributes about £.150 sterling per annum; and the surgeon, if he chuses, is entitled to board, washing, and lodging; and this is altogether independant of the profits of his practice with the Whites. I suppose there are few plantation doctors in Jamaica, that have less than 500 Negroes under their care; several (with their assistants) have upwards of 5,000.

Among the diseases which Negroes bring with them from Africa, the most loathsome are the *cacabay* and the *yaws*; and it is difficult to say which is the worst. The former is the leprosy of the Arabians, and the latter (much the most common) is supposed, by some writers, to be the leprosy mentioned in Leviticus, c. xiii. Both are very accurately described by Doctor Hillary, in his Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes. Young Negro children often catch the *yaws*, and get through it without medicine or much inconveniency. At a later period it is seldom or never thoroughly eradicated; and as, like the small-pox, it is never had but *once*, the Gold Coast Negroes are said to communicate the infection to their infants by inoculation. I very much doubt if medicine of any kind is of use in this disease.—But the greatest mortality among the Negroes in the West Indies arises from two other complaints; the one affecting infants between the fifth and fourteenth days after their birth, and of which it is supposed that one-fourth of all the Negro children perish. It is a species of *tetanus*, or locked jaw; but both the cause of it in these poor children, and the remedy, remain yet to be discovered. The other complaint affects adults, or rather negroes who are past their prime. They become dropsical, and complain of a constant uneasiness in the stomach; for which they find a temporary relief in eating some kind of earth. The French planters call this disease *mal d'estomac*, or the stomach evil. I have formerly heard of owners and managers who were so ignorant and savage as to attempt the cure by severe punishment; considering *dirt-eating*, not as a disease, but a crime. I hope the race is extinct. The best and only remedy is kind usage

For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided with a sick-house or hospital, divided into different apartments; and over which one or more aged women preside as nurses. The proprietor commonly supplies blankets, flour, rice, sugar, and oatmeal: these things I have seldom known to be denied, and some gentlemen afford, besides fresh beef and mutton, more costly articles; such as spices, fago, and wine.

On the whole, notwithstanding some defects, let allowance be made for the climate and soil, and it may be asserted with truth and modesty, that, if the situation of the slaves in the British West Indies were, in all cases, on a level with their circumstances in regard to food, lodging, and medical assistance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peasantry of Europe.

At the same time let it not be forgotten, that the legislative authority, in many of the sugar islands, has been, and still is, most humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the slave in all respects, and circumscribing the power of the master.—“ Protection of their slaves (says “ the Report of the Privy Council) made but a “ very small portion of their earlier policy. This “ branch has of late been taken up, and express “ directions have been given to ensure to the Ne- “ groes, the enjoyment of many advantages tend- “ ing to alleviate their condition. In three “ islands, particularly (Jamaica, Grenada, and “ Dominica) the wish to soften the rigours of “ their situation has manifested itself more decid- usage and wholesome animal food; and perhaps a steel drink may be of some service. Of one poor fellow in this complaint, I myself made a perfect cure by persisting some time in this method.

BOOK IV. edly. Measures have been devised by the legislatures of those islands for placing them in a state of society, where they will be entitled to a protection that in former times would have been thought incompatible with the dependance and subordination of slavery."

To this distinguished and honourable testimony, it may be added, as a circumstance of still greater importance, that the age itself is hourly improving in humanity ; and that this improvement visibly extends beyond the Atlantic. Its influence is felt where the law is a dead letter. This, however, is to be understood with considerable allowance ; for it is a melancholy truth, that authority over these poor people must, on several occasions, unavoidably devolve into the hands that will employ it only in its abuse ; and in cases too, in which, if redress be sought, the testimony of the injured party is inadmissible in a court of justice. Under those circumstances, while the law loses its authority, I am afraid that the sense of decorum alone affords but a feeble restraint against the corrupt passions and infirmities of our nature, the hardness of avarice, the pride of power, the fallies of anger, and the thirst of revenge.

That the narratives therefore of excessive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the sympathy of the public, are *all* of them "absolutely false ;"—though it has been asserted by others, shall *not* be asserted by me. If they have happened but *seldom*, they have happened too often. The difference between me, and those who, on this ground, continue to urge the necessity of an immediate and total suppression of the slave trade, is this : they assert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour, to behold the miserable Negroes fall victims

to a series of cruelties of which no other age or C H A P. country affords an example; and they maintain V: that the planters, *in general*, are guilty of these cruelties, without commiseration or remorse. I, on the other hand, aver that, although such enormities have certainly *sometimes* happened, and may happen again, yet that the *general* treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; that instances of cruelty are not only rare, but always universally reprobated when discovered; and, when susceptible of legal proof, severely punished *.

The

* As the latter part of this assertion has been very confidently denied by some of the witnesses that have appeared before a Committee of the House of Commons, I beg leave to trouble the reader with the following cases in point:

“ Spanish Town, Jamaica, Feb. 1777. Thomas Fell was indicted for assaulting a Negro man slave, the property of Richard Welsh, Esquire, and found guilty. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of twenty pounds, and to be imprisoned in the common gaol one week, and until payment of the fine.”

“ Kingston, Jamaica. At the Surry assize, 1786; George Geddes was tried, and found guilty on two indictments, for cruelly beating and maiming two of his own slaves: Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of £.100, on each indictment, and to be imprisoned six months in the jail of Kingston, and until payment of the fine, and afterwards to find security for his good behaviour, &c.”

“ Surry assize, 1788. John Durant, a free man of Colour, was indicted and found guilty of assaulting a Negro man slave, named Sacco, the property of Eliza Wheeler, a free Negro woman. Sentenced to be publicly flogged at the Beef market.”

The above are extracts fairly abridged from the records in the proper office in Jamaica. Testimonies of the same kind, more fully stated, from the Island of St. Christopher, appear in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council; to whom evidence was likewise given, that a White man, in the Island of Grenada, was, in the year 1776, convicted of the murder of his own slave, and executed. If many other cases cannot

I 2 be

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK. The great, and I fear incurable, defect in the
 IV. system of slavery, is the circumstance already
 mentioned, that the evidence of the slave cannot
 be admitted against a White person, even in
 cases of the most atrocious injury. This is an
 evil to which, on several accounts, I fear no direct
 and efficacious remedy can be applied. In some
 of the islands, however, attempts have been made,
 with an earnestness suited to the importance of
 the subject, to supply the defect; and expedients
 have been adopted for that purpose, which, in
 most cases, it may be hoped, will have the good
 consequence of a solid protection. By the new
 slave act of Grenada, the justices are required
 annually to nominate three freeholders to be
guardians of the slaves; who are to take an oath
 to see the law duly executed. They are not only
 to inspect the provision-grounds, the clothing,
 and maintenance, and to enquire into the general
 treatment of the slaves, but also to interrogate on
 oath the managers and overseers, concerning the
 due observance of the law; and in case of breaches
 thereof, to prosecute the offenders. Of this mea-
 sure the Report of the Privy Council expresses the

be cited, it may fairly be supposed, from those which have
 been adduced, that fresh occasion has not often been given.
 The following shocking instance, however, happened in the
 Island of Jamaica, in the summer of 1791:—William Rat-
 tray, a carpenter at the Port of Rio Bueno, in a fit of drunk-
 eness, threw an axe at a Negro boy, his own slave, which
 unfortunately killed him on the spot. The coroner's inquest
 finding it wilful murder, the man was apprehended, and sent
 to jail in irons. He was not, it is true, publicly tried and
 hanged for the crime; for, being well assured that such would
 be his fate, he thought it best to execute justice on himself,
 and found in suicide an escape from the gallows. This fact,
 which is within my own knowledge, is certainly no proof that
 the murderers of their own slaves escape with impunity.

highest approbation :—“ The obliging managers and overseers (it observes) *to answer upon oath,* gives peculiar efficacy to a regulation intended for the benefit of persons whose testimony, by the law of the country, could not be heard in a prosecution against a White person.”

In the same liberal spirit, and co-operating to the same generous end, the legislature of Jamaica have constituted the justices and vestry of each parish in that island, a *council of protection*, expressly for the purpose of making full enquiry into the barbarities exercised on slaves, and bringing the authors to punishment at the public expence. With this view, it is enacted, that in case *any* information is made before a justice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a slave, the justice is impowered and required to issue his warrant to bring the slave before him for inspection. “ By this regulation (say the assembly) it is intended, as far as possible, to take from the owner the power of concealment; for, as it is not required that the information should be on oath, the magistrate is enabled to obtain a view of the fact, on evidence, which, in other cases, is, and ought to be, inadmissible.” By another clause in the same act, in order more effectually to prevent the destruction of Negroes by excessive labour and unreasonable punishments, the surgeon of every plantation is required to produce and deliver in upon oath, to the justices and vestry, an annual account of the decrease and encrease of the slaves of such plantation, assigning also the causes of such decrease, to the best of his judgment and belief. On this head the assembly remark “ how tender and cautious every rational manager must necessarily be in the punishments which he administers, who considers, that he has a resident

B O O K a resident inspector into his conduct, and that the
 IV. punishment of death may follow an abuse of his
 authority."

Such are a few of the many forcible and decisive testimonies which the resident planters in the West Indies have given to the world of their just abhorrence of all acts of cruelty and oppression towards the poor people over whom the accident of birth or fortune have invested them with power.—They have demonstrated that their inclination concurs with their interest effectually to perform whatever humanity and the sense of reciprocal obligation requires towards their African labourers; and they have armed the law with additional energy, in the hope of curbing those passions, suppressing those frailties, and preventing those excesses, which the plenitude of power is too apt to encourage. If this effect cannot, in all cases and contingencies, be produced, the failure must be comprised among the many other insurmountable difficulties and irresistible evils of life, for which human wisdom has hitherto in vain sought a remedy.

The grand (and I admit the most plausible) accusation against the general conduct of the planters, arises from the necessity they find themselves under of having an annual recruit of slaves from Africa, to fill up the numbers that perish in the West Indies. So long as it shall appear that the natural encrease of the Negroes already in the sugar islands, is insufficient for this purpose, it will be contended that this circumstance, of itself, affords an obvious and undeniable proof that it is *not* to individuals alone, the blame of improper treatment ought to be attributed. *That* power, it is urged, must in almost all cases be abused, and *that* slavery must be universally excessive, which give

give occasion to so dreadful a waste of life. The C H A P. objection has been anticipated, and in part V. answered, in the preceding pages, by the proof that has been given of the great disproportion of the sexes in the yearly importations from Africa. It has been shewn from unquestionable authority, that one-third only are females. Thus, notwithstanding every allowance for the Creoles or natives, who may reasonably be supposed to have increased according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an excess in its Negro population of 30,000 males. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. It is a truth well-known, that the practice of polygamy, which universally prevails in Africa, is also very generally adopted among the Negroes in the West Indies; and he who conceives that a remedy may be found for this, by introducing among them the laws of marriage as established in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their manners, propensities and superstitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not less than ten thousand of such as are called Head Negroes (artificers and others) possess from two to four wives. This partial appropriation of the women creates a still greater proportion of single men, and produces all the mischiefs which are necessarily attached to the system of polygamy.— In Africa the redundancy of males, occasioned by an unequal distribution of the females, is undoubtedly one of the sources which supplies the European trader with slaves; and the consequences attending it among the Negroes in the West Indies, are a shocking licentiousness and profligacy of manners in most of their women; who are exposed to temptations which they cannot resist. They hold chastity in so little estimation,

BOOK, that barrenness and frequent abortions, the IV. usual effects of a promiscuous intercourse, are very generally prevalent among them. To the same origin may be ascribed that neglect, and want of maternal affection towards the children, produced by former connections, observable in many of the Black females.

The circumstances thus enumerated, operating with combined energy, are abundantly sufficient to account for the annual diminution in the number of the slaves; and I see no good reason why it should not be frankly admitted, that slavery itself, in its mildest form, is unfriendly to population. The human race, to increase in numbers, must be placed in favourable circumstances; and, unless reason and sentiment in some degree co-operate with corporeal instinct, its offspring is born but to perish. Among men who are deprived of free agency, or by whom it is but imperfectly enjoyed, neither reason nor sentiment can be the ruling principle. It is needless to pursue this argument any farther. Men of reflection, apprized of the fact that such disproportion between the sexes exists among the Negroes, will draw the proper conclusions from it, and agree that an abolition of the slave trade will not afford a remedy.

Thus have I delivered, in a detail which the reader will probably find too diffuse and minute, such observations as have occurred to me on the several matters, of which I proposed to treat.— I have declined to enlarge on the various calumnies, and gross misrepresentations, which have been spread and encouraged against the planters, because it is their misfortune that, on this question, many virtuous, humane and pious men, misled by popular prejudice, openly concur in, and give their

their sanction to, the malignant efforts, and un- C H A P.
charitable misconstructions of the envious and V.
illiberal. Such proceedings, however, are as im-
politic as they are unjust. They are equally inju-
rious to the master and the slave. By exciting
among the Negroes a spirit of discontent and dis-
obedience, they compel, in many cases, the be-
nevolent man to restrain that hand which other-
wise would be stretched out for their relief; and
thus, by rendering their masters odious in their
eyes, these unfortunate people (apprized at the
same time that they are held in a subjection which
is reprobated in them other country) may be led to
make a general struggle for freedom, through de-
solation and blood. Far be it from me, however,
to impute motives so atrocious to any of those
respectable characters whose exertions for an abo-
lition of the slave trade are at this time the object
of public attention. Most of these gentlemen,
without doubt, consider this measure as only the
first process in a more extended and liberal plan,
which has for its object, by stopping the further
influx of Negroes into our islands, to compel the
planters to cherish and husband their present stock;
and sustain it in future by natural encrease; until,
by milder treatment, and the Christian institutes,
the manners of the slaves shall become softened,
their vices corrected, and their dispositions gradu-
ally prepared for a total emancipation from that
absolute slavery in which they are now held. Such
is the language, and, I doubt not, the fond ex-
pectation, of many wise and excellent persons.—
They consider that all this will be the necessary
effect of the interposition of parliament, in pro-
hibiting the further importation of African slaves
into our colonies. I have assigned such reasons as
occur to me for believing that this conclusion is
founded

BOOK founded in error, and will terminate in disappointment. That I am no friend to slavery, in any shape, or under any modification, I feel a conscious assurance in my own bosom. Yet that the slavery of some part of the human species, in a very abject degree, has existed in all ages of the world, among the most civilised, as well as the most barbarous nations, no man who has consulted the records of history disputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the constitution of the world, for purposes inscrutable to man. Of this I am certain, that an immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, would involve both master and slave in one common destruction. Thus much however is allowed; the miseries we cannot wholly remove, we may in some cases mitigate: We may alleviate, though we cannot cure. I have shewn that this has been attempted, and in many cases effected too, by the planters themselves. What yet remains to be done, consistently with sound policy, and a just regard even to the safety and happiness of the Negroes themselves, is a subject of deep and difficult consideration. Hasty measures, however humane in appearance, and plausible in theory, may produce the most calamitous of all contests, *a bellum servile*; which will probably never end but in the extermination of either the Whites or the Blacks. Among the great variety of schemes which have been offered for further meliorating the condition of the slaves, the most obvious seem to be these: First, to render their labour certain and determinate: in other words, to apportion to each Negro, according to his strength, a specific quantity of work to be performed

formed in a given time ; allowing to such of them C H A P. as shall have finished their task within the time V. limited, the rest of the day to themselves, and ~~and~~ pay them wages for extra labour. This is not always practicable, but when it is, I am inclined to think favourably of the scheme, because it seems calculated to awaken a spirit of emulation and industry, which the dread of punishment can never produce. At the same time, it will be necessary to secure to the Negroes by law, the little property or *peculium* which their own industry may thus acquire.—A second proposal is to make them arbiters on the conduct of each other, by instituting a sort of juries among them for the trial of petty offences. It is conceived that such a measure will give them right notions of distributive justice, and operate powerfully towards their civilisation and improvement ; and I have heard of two instances in Jamaica in which it has been tried with success ; but it is evidently a regulation that must be governed by circumstances, and left principally to the prudence and discretion of the owner : an attempt to establish and enforce it by law, in their present notions of right and wrong, would, I fear, create inextricable confusion. A third measure has been recommended, of less doubtful efficacy. It is, to render the Sabbath, what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious improvement ; to which end, the markets on Sundays ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a Christian country ; and, if a market is found absolutely necessary to encourage the Negroes in labouring for themselves, some other day, once a fortnight, may be appropriated for that purpose *. In the meantime,

* The objection to this scheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-six days labour of the whole body of

BOOK time, instead of abolishing the slave trade by act IV. of parliament, further encouragement should be given to the importation of a greater proportion of African women, until the sexes are become nearly equal; after which it is probable that, under the present humane and improved system of laws and manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural encrease. If this good consequence shall happily be produced, it cannot be doubted that the slave trade will of itself gradually diminish, and perhaps in a few years cease altogether, and expire without a struggle.

But these, and all other regulations which can be devised for the protection and improvement of this unfortunate class of people, will be of little avail, unless, as a preliminary measure, they shall be exempted from the cruel hardship, to which they are now frequently liable, of being sold by creditors, and made subject in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts both of simple contract and specialty. This grievance, so remorseless and tyrannical in its principle, and so dreadful in its effects, though not originally created, is now upheld and confirmed by a British act of parliament; and no less authority is competent to redress it. It was an act procured by, and passed for the benefit of British creditors; and I blush to add, that its mo-

of their Negroes, without producing the effect intended, as the whole of each Sunday will, in such case, be spent in drunkenness and debauchery at home. If this objection be well founded, let the days which are now given to the slaves (exclusive of Sundays) be the days of market, and compel them to work in their own gardens four or five hours every Sunday morning; and attend divine service in the afternoon. Honest labour must surely be more pleasing to the Almighty, as it is certainly more beneficial to man, than profligacy and riot.

tives

ives and origin have sanctified the measure even in the opinion of men who are among the loudest of the declaimers against slavery and the slave trade *. Thus the odious severity of the Roman law, which declared sentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to Christianity! In a few years a good Negro gets comfortably established, has built himself a house, obtained a wife, and begins to see a young family rising about him. His provision-ground, the creation of his own industry, and the staff of his existence, affords him not only support, but the means also of adding something to the mere necessaries of life. In this situation, he is seized on by the sheriff's officer, forcibly separated from his wife and children, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, and perhaps sent to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light of heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. He is punished because his master is unfortunate. I do not believe that any case of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater misery than this! Neither can it be urged, that, like some unauthorized cases of cruelty in the West Indies, it occurs but seldom: unhappily, it occurs every day, and, under the present system, will conti-

* The act alluded to, is the 5th George II. c. 7. entitled, "An act for the more easy recovery of debts in his Majesty's plantations." Of the most violent of the petitioners to parliament, not one has solicited the repeal of this execrable statute. The society in the Old Jewry, though apprized by myself of the grievance, its origin and the remedy, are silent on the subject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably consider no rights so sacred as those of creditors.

BOOK due to occur, so long as men shall continue to be
IV. unfortunate.

Let this statute then be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character ; it is disgraceful to humanity. Let the Negroes be attached to the land, and sold with it. The good effect of a similar regulation in the system of ancient vil- lenage has been pointed out and illustrated by a great many writers ; and those persons who now oppose an extension of the same benefit to the Negroes in the West Indies, would do well to reflect, that while they arraign the conduct of the resident planters towards their slaves, they are themselves abettors and supporters of the greatest of all the grievances under which those unfortunate people continue to suffer.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

APPEN.

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

NUMBER I.

As a supplement to such part of the preceding APPEN-
book, as relates to the treatment of the Negroes in DIX.
the British West Indies, it is thought necessary to pre-
sent the reader with the CONSOLIDATED SLAVE
ACT OF JAMAICA, passed the 2d of March, 1792.
The Slave Act of 1788 is already before the public,
and its provisions have been spoken of with much ap-
probation, in the very accurate and comprehensive
survey of the slave laws of the several islands, which
the Lords of the Committee of Council have annexed
to their Report on the Slave Trade, as drawn up
by Mr. Reeves, Law Clerk to the Committee. It is
presumed the present law will demonstrate to gene-
ral conviction, that the legislature of Jamaica, avail-
ing themselves as well of the reproaches of their
enemies, as of the suggestions of their friends, have
given all possible encouragement to the raising of
Negro children in the island, and secured to their
labourers as much freedom, and as great a latitude
of enjoyment of the necessaries, conveniences, and
comforts of life as can be done consistently with
their own preservation.

¶ The chief alterations between this law and that of 1788
*(which is now repealed) are printed in *Italics*.*

JAMAICA,

BOOK IV. JAMAICA, &c.

An ACT to repeal an act, intituled, "An act to repeal several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes;" and also to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating, and bringing into one act, the several laws relating to slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences; and for other purposes.

Preamble. WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore Enacted, by the lieutenant governor, council, and assembly of the said

said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordain- APPEN-
ed by the authority of the same, That, from DIX.
and after the passing of this act, all and every ^{Laws and}
the said herein before-mentioned laws, and ^{clauses of}
clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and ^{laws to be}
stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and ^{repealed.}
are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void,
to all intents and purposes whatsoever; any
thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or
in any other law, contained to the contrary,
in any wise notwithstanding.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of slavery: For which end and purpose, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, Proprie-
every master, owner, or possessor, of any plan-
tation or plantations, pens, or other lands what-
soever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quan-
tity of land for every slave he shall have in
possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation to allow
or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for him to
the proper ground of every such slave, and allow cultivate
such slave sufficient time to work the same, in it.
order to provide him, her, or themselves, with
sufficient provisions for his, her, or their, mainte-
nance: and also, all such masters, owners, or
possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands,
shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other
lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of
land.

BOOK land for every *ten* negroes * that he shall be possessed of on such plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the negro-grounds aforesaid; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Slaves otherwise provided for.

III. *And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such master, owner, or possessor, or his or her overseer or chief manager, shall personally inspect into the condition of such negro-grounds once in every month at the least, in order to see that the same are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath shall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed.* And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns, in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and six-pence currency per week for each slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.

IV. *And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor of any slave or slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such slave or slaves, on account of or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable*

* In the former act an acre of provisions was allotted to every *four* negroes, exclusive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unnecessary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now stands expressly that the law might be enforced.

of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required, to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm slave or slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the nearest work-houfe, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such work-houfe for the maintenance of such slave or slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of

BOOK twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his
 IV. hand and seal, directed to the constable, to com-
 mit such offender or offenders to the common
 gaol of the county or parish where the offence
 shall be committed, there to remain until he or
 she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and
 charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said
 fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other
 moiety shall be paid into the hands of the church-
 wardens of such parish, for the poor of said parish;
 any law, custom, or usage to the contrary not-
 withstanding.

Slaves to
 be clothed
 by their
 owner
 once a
 year.

V. And, for the better encouragement of
 slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners,
 or possessors, be it further Enacted by the auth-
 ority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or pos-
 sessor of slaves, shall, once in every year, provide
 and give to each slave they shall be possessed of
 proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of
 by the justices and vestry of the parish where such
 master, owner, or possessor of such slaves resides,
 under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners
 to instruct
 slaves in
 the Chris-
 tian reli-
 gion.

VI. And be it further Enacted by the auth-
 ority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses,
 owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves,
 shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the in-
 struction of their slaves in the principles of the Chris-
 tian religion, whereby to facilitate their conver-
 sion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit
 them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they
 can, cause to be baptised all such as they can
 make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith.

Owners
 to give in
 an ac-

VII. And be it further Enacted by the auth-
 ority aforesaid, That every master, owner, pro-
 prietor,

prietor, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer APPEN-
or chief manager, at their giving in an account DIX.
of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry,
on the twenty-eighth day of December in every
year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for
every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account
of the quantity of land in ground-provisions,
over and above the negro-grounds, upon such
plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there
are lands proper for the cultivation of such pro-
visions; and, where there are not lands proper
for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of
the provision made on such plantation, pen, or
other settlement, or means adopted for the main-
tenance of the slaves thereon; and shall also, at
the same time, and under the like penalty, give in
an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity
of the cloathing actually served to each slave on
such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the
approbation of the justices and vestry aforesaid;
and shall, likewise, at the same time declare, on
oath, that he hath inspected the negro-grounds
(where such grounds are allotted) of such planta-
tion, pen, or settlement, according to the directions
of this act.

count of
provision-
ground.

VIII. And, in order to encourage slaves for Premium
every good and worthy act that they shall do, be to slaves
it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, for in-
That every slave or slaves that shall take up any forming
runaway slave, or inform against any person who on runa-
ways, &c.
shall have or conceal any runaway slave or slaves,
so that such runaway slave or slaves may be taken
and restored to his owner or owners; every
such slave or slaves, so informing, shall be entitled
to such reward as any justice shall in reason and
justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by
such

BOOK such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

The killing or apprehension of rebellious slaves rewarded.

IX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the church-wardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned.

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, professor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their, knowledge, sufferance, privy, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for

for recovery of damages for or on account of the APPENDIX
same: And, in very atrocious cases, where the DIX.
owner of such slave or slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary, for the future protection of such slave or slaves, to declare him, her, or them, free and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever: And, in all such cases, the court are hereby empowered and authorised, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said slave or slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said slave or slaves, so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case any slave or slaves shall suffer any before-described mutilations, such slave or slaves, on his, her, or their application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby, directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to send such slave or slaves to the nearest workhouse where such offence shall be committed, and such slave or slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of such parish, until such time as there may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish; which justices and vestry, so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such slave or slaves: Justices to And the said justices and vestry, so met, are hereby enquire directed and empowered, to make further and full enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the Mutilated slaves, in certain cases, declared free.

BOOK

IV.

prosecute
the of-
fenders.

Owners
sued for
costs.

the mutilation of such slave or slaves ; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners ; the expense of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed : And in case the owner or owners of such slave or slaves shall appear capable of paying the cost and charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such slave or slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse, by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits : And the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated slave or slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated slave or slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such slave or slaves.

Justices to
issue their
warrants
to bring
mutilated
slaves be-
fore them.

XI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or probable intelligence from any slave or otherwise, that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such slave or slaves to release and bring before such

such justice, *who, on view of the fact, is hereby APPEN-*
authorized to send such slave or slaves to the DIX.
workhouse for protection, and who is there to be ~~kept~~
kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry shall be
made into the fact according to law.

XII. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Persons
rity aforesaid, That, if any person hereafter shall wilfully
wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kill, or killing
cause to be killed, any negro or other slave, such ~~slaves to~~
person, so offending, shall, on conviction, be ~~suffer~~
adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of ~~death~~
clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly, for the
said offence: Provided always, That such con-
viction shall not extend to the corrupting the
blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements,
goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage, to
the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

XIII. And be it further Enacted, by the autho- Persons
rity aforesaid, That from and after the passing of cruelly
this act, any person or persons that shall wantonly ~~beating~~
~~or cruelly whip, maltreat, beat, bruise, wound, or~~ ~~slaves,~~
~~shall imprison or keep in confinement, without~~ ~~how pun-~~
sufficient support, any slave or slaves, shall be
subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme
court of judicature, or in either of the courts of
assize, or courts of quarter-sessions in this island;
and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he,
she, or, they, shall suffer such punishment, by
fine or imprisonment, *or both*, as the judges or
justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict;
any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary in any
wise notwithstanding: And such punishment is
hereby declared to be without prejudice to any
action at common law that could or might be
brought

BOOK brought for the recovery of damages for and on
 IV. account of the same, in case such slave or slaves
 shall not be the property of the offender.

Arbitrary
punish-
ment re-
strained.

XIV. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, *nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes, in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment*, under the penalty of ten pounds * for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

Putting
iron col-
lars or
other
chains on
slaves,
prohibit-
ed.

XV. And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed slaves, and such as are apt to abscond from their owners, by fixing or causing to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence

* In the former act £.5.

whatsoever,

whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish APPEN-
any negro or other slave, whether his own property DIX.
or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any
iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by
loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any
offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights;
of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary
for securing the person of such slave; and all
and every the justices of the peace, within this island,
are hereby authorised, directed, and required, under
the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information
and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains,
irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from
the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.

XVI. And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of negro, mulatto, and other, slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and, having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and vestry and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this

Justices
to support
disabled
negroes.

BOOK this island, of such negro, mulatto, or other, slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid :
 IV. And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such slave lived or resided ; or, if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumised or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid ; And the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes, as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all such humane and salutary regulations, for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

Owners
must not
allow
their
slaves to
travel
without
tickets,

XVII. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of slaves committing rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave, *such only excepted as are going, with firewood, grass, fruit, provisions, or small stock and other goods, which they may lawfully sell, to market, and returning therefrom,* shall hereafter be suffered or permitted to go out of his, or her master or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless

unless such slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer, or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress, complaint being made to him upon oath, unless the master, owner, employer, or overseer, of such slave shall prove, upon oath before any justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer, may or shall live, or happen to be, that he did give the said slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such slave went away without his consent; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforesaid, on the owner, overseer, or any other person, who shall suffer a slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding*.

XVIII. And be it further Enacted by the Slaves authority aforesaid, That for the future, all slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: Provided, That, at every such respective season, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or suc-

* In the former Act it was also provided that the slave himself, going without a ticket, should be punished, which is now omitted.

BOOKS proceed immediately one after the other, except at IV. Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than is directed by this act to be given, every person so offending, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

Time allowed for breakfast, &c. XX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except

Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.

cept during the time of crop, under the penalty APPEN-
of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the over- DIX.
seer, or other person having the care of such ~~such~~
slaves.

XXI. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Penalty
for suffer-
ing un-
lawful as-
semblies
of slaves.
rity aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guar-
dian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement,
shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding
twelve in number, to assemble together and beat
their military drums, or blow their horns or shells,
upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in
any yard or place under his, her, or their care
or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse
or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice
thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned
officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse
the said slaves; every such master, owner, guar-
dian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence,
upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the
supreme court of judicature or courts of assize,
pay a fine of fifty pounds to his majesty, his heirs
and successors, for and towards the support of the
government of this island, and the contingent
charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That in-
formation of such offence shall be made, upon
oath, before any of his Majesty's justices of the
peace, within the space of five days after the com-
mission of such offence.

XXII. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Civil or
military
officers to
suppress
such as-
semblies.
rity aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, military
shall be, and are hereby empowered and re- officers to
quired, to enter into any plantation, settlement, suppress
or other place, to disperse all such unlawful as- such as-
semblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlaw- sembly.
ful drummings or other noise, as before men-
tioned;

BOOK tioned ; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the slaves of different plantations, when such slaves are generally intoxicated ; and as it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes ; Be it therefore Overseers, Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any &c. who overseer, or in his absence, any book-keeper, or suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned. any slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person so offending, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of assize, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize : Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence : And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells ; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary not.

notwithstanding: Provided, that such amuse- APPEN-
ments are put an end to by twelve of the clock at DIX.

XXIV. *And, in order to prevent riots and nightly Negro burials among negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro burials shall in future take place in the day time only, so that the same may be ended before sunset; and if any master, owner, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.*

XXV. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Imprison-
rity aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settle- ment, every such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer impris- onment, not exceeding six months: Provided neverthelefs, That information thereof shall be given, on oath, within five days of such unlaw- ful meeting.

XXVI. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Slaves not
rity aforesaid, That all slaves who shall hereafter to keep
be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, slugs, or ball, such slave being thereof convicted, before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.

BOOK

IV.

Punish-
ment on
slaves of-
ferring vio-
lence to
whites.

XXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, *transportation*, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict: Provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners persons or goods.

Punish-
ment on
slaves har-
bouring
slaves.

XXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices at the said court shall think proper to inflict, *not extending to life or limb.*

Who are
deemed
runaways.

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what slaves shall be deemed such; be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who *shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market,* shall be deemed a runaway.

XXX. And

XXX. And be it further Enacted by the auth- APPEN-
 tity aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who DIX.
 shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for ~~every one~~ Reward
 every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive ~~from the owner, employer, overseer or manager of~~ for secur-
 such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings, and no ~~away~~ ing run-
 more, besides mile-money, at the rate of one
 shilling per mile for the first ~~five~~ miles, and six
 pence per mile afterwards: Provided such slave or
 slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten
 days, without the privity, knowledge, or con-
 sent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white
 person, residing on the plantation or settlement to
 which such slave or slaves shall belong; which
 time of absence of such slave or slaves shall be de-
 clared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer,
 or other white person, as aforesaid, if the party
 taking up such slave or slaves shall require it:
 But it is the true intent and meaning of this act,
 that every person or persons who shall apprehend
 any slave or slaves, that usually reside in, or are
 employed in, any of the towns of this island,
 and that at the time are actually runaway or ab-
 sent from their owner, employer, or manager's
 habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing
 in this act contained, shall be construed to extend
 to an allowance of the said sum of ten shillings
 and mile money, in addition to the sum allowed
 to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways:
 And provided also, That it is not hereby intended
 to deprive the said maroons of their legal and
 established reward of forty shillings for each
 negro. Proviso:

BOOK XXXI. And be it further Enacted by the auth-
ority aforesaid, That the person or persons so ap-
prehending such slave or slaves, shall convey him,
her, or them, to their respective owner, employer,
to be dis- or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if
any workhouse is established there; and in case of
there being no workhouse, to the next gaol, in
case the owner, employer, or manager, of such
slave or slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of
ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take
the oath as to the time of absence; in which case,
the gaol or workhouse keeper is hereby required
and ordered to receive such slave or slaves into
his or their custody, and to pay the party deliver-
ing such slave or slaves the said sum of ten shil-
lings, and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more,
for each slave so delivered, under the penalty of
five pounds: Provided nevertheless, That if such
slave or slaves is or are brought to any gaol or
workhouse by any white person, free negro, free
mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-
keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall
have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or
workhouse-keeper is hereby required, under the
penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and
produce, whenever thereunto required by the
owner or possessor of such slave or slaves) that the
slave or slaves so apprehended was or were at the
reputed distance of eight miles from the house,
plantation, or settlement, to which such slave or
slaves do belong (except as before is excepted),
and that such slave or slaves had no ticket or other
permit in writing from his master, mistress, over-
feer, employer, or manager, at the time such
slave or slaves was or were apprehended, for him,
her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the
said slave or slaves had been carried first to the
owner,

owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or APPEN-
slaves (provided such owner, employer, or ma- DIX.
nager, shall be in the parish in which such slave
or slaves shall be apprehended), and that the mas-
ter, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to
pay for the apprehending him, her, or them,
according to the intent and meaning of this act.

XXXII. And be it further Enacted by the Time of
authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be grant- tickets li-
ed to any slave or slaves for any time exceeding mited.
one calendar month.

XXXIII. And be it further Enacted by the Account
authority aforesaid, That, on the twenty-eighth of births
day of December in every year (the time of giv. and deaths
ing in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, must be
the owner, overseer, or manager of every plan- given in.
tation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath,
an account of all the births and deaths of the
slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for
the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty
pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such
plantation, pen, or other settlement.

XXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the Overseer
authority aforesaid, That, if the not giving in to pay if
upon oath such several accounts shall be owing his ne-
to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such
plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and
may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or pos-
sessor of such plantation, pen, or other settle-
ment, to stop and detain the penalty he or she
shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such
overseer or manager.

XXXV. And be it further Enacted by the Surgeons
authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon to give in
of an account

BOOK of every plantation, pen, or other settlement,
 IV. shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in
 every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or
 within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath,
 of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the pre-
 ceding year, or during such time as such doctor
 or surgeon hath had the care of the slaves on such
 plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the
 cause of such deaths, to the best of his knowledge,
 judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one
 hundred pounds for every neglect: And in case
 it shall appear, to the satisfaction of the justices
 and vestry, from the return of the owner, over-
 seer; or manager aforesaid, that there has been
 a natural encrease in the number of slaves on any
 such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the
 overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner
 or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other
 settlement, the sum of *three pounds* * for every
 slave born on such plantation, pen, or other set-
 tlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall
 be then living, *after deducting the decrease*; and
 the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen,
 or other settlement, shall have a deduction from
 the first of his or her public taxes that shall be-
 come due, of the sum so paid to the overseer, on
 producing a certificate of the justices and vestry
 of such encrease, and a receipt of the overseer for
 the sum so paid.

Further
 encou-
 ragement
 for en-
 crease of
 slaves.

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encourage-
 ment may be given to the encrease and protection
 of Negro infants, be it further Enacted by the
 authority aforesaid, That every female slave, who
 shall have six children living, shall be exempted*

* In the former act, *twenty shillings*.

from

from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and APPEN-
the owner or possessor of every such female slave DIX.
shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for
such female slave, any thing in the act commonly
called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax
laws of this island passed, or annually to be passed,
to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction
shall be made for all such female slaves from the
taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of
the justices and vestry, at the same time, and in
manner as directed in the case of an annual encrease
of the number of slaves as aforesaid: Provided
nevertheless, That proof be given on oath, to the satis-
faction of the said justices and vestry, not only that
the requisite number of children, together with the
mother, are living; but also that the mother is ex-
empted from all manner of field or other hard labour,
and is provided with the means of an easy and com-
fortable maintenance.

XXXVII. And whereas, the more effectually to ~~Penalty~~
conceal runaway slaves, or prevent their being ~~on free ne-~~
apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free ~~groes, &c.~~
negroes, or free mulattoes, be it therefore Enact- ~~groes, &c.~~
ed by the authority aforesaid, That any Indian, ~~slaves.~~
free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving such
ticket, with such intent, shall be deemed guilty
of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the
faid offence before the supreme court of judica-
ture, or in either of the courts of assize in this
island where the offence shall be committed; and,
on conviction, shall suffer the loss of freedom,
transportation, or such other punishment as the
court, in their discretion, shall think proper to
inflict.

XXXVIII. And

BOOK XXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the
 IV. authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be
 Whites granted or given by any white person, with such
 granting intent as aforesaid, to any slave or slaves, before or
 such tick- after his or their absenting themselves from their
 ets punish- owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such
 able. white person shall be deemed guilty of forgery,
 and shall be liable to be tried for the same before
 the supreme court of judicature, or either of the
 assize courts of this island, where the offence shall
 be committed ; and, on conviction, shall suffer
 such punishment as the court, in their discretion,
 shall think proper to inflict.

Keepers of gaols, &c. to ad- XXXIX. And to the end that the owners and
 vertise runaways, proprietors of runaway slaves may have a due
 knowledge where such slaves are confined, after
 their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse
 or gaol in this island, in order that such owners
 and proprietors may apply for such slaves ; be it
 further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
 from and after the passing of this act, all and every
 the keepers of the workhouses, or gaol-keepers,
 in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and
 they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to
 advertise in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega,
 the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Corn-
 wall Chronicle, the heighth, names, marks, and
 sex, and also the country, where the same can be
 ascertained, of each and every runaway slave then
 in their custody, together with the time of their
 being sent into custody, and the name or names
 of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and
 that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds
 for every slave so neglected by him to be adver-
 tised ; and, for the expence of such advertise-
 ment, they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-
 keepers,

keepers, shall and may, and they are hereby au- APPEN-
thorized to, charge the owner or proprietor of DIX.
such runaway slaves so advertised, at and after the
rate of one shilling and three-pence per month
for each paper, and no more; and that it shall detain
and may be lawful for the keeper of the work-^{them un-}
house or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or ^{til paid}
^{their fees.} their custody such runaway slave or slaves so
brought unto him or them, until the owner or
owners thereof, or some person on their behalf,
properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them
what he or they so paid to the person or persons
who apprehended and brought such slave or slaves
into custody, with two shillings and six-pence in the
pound for laying out his or their money, the cost
of advertising, after the rate above mentioned, and
six-pence for every 24 hours such slave or slaves shall
have been in custody, for maintenance, and two-
pence per day for medical care and extraordinary
nourishment where necessary, and also the charges
of advertising above directed, and no other fees
whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, ^{attest the}
or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, ^{charges}
upon oath, that the charges in the account for ^{for mile-}
mile-money, and the reward for apprehending &c. ^{money,}
such slave, were actually paid to the person who
brought such runaway, and that the whole of the
charges in the said account are strictly conforma-
ble to this law.

XL. And be it further Enacted by the autho- allow
rity aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse ^{them pro-}
or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of ^{visions,}
ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to
every slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a
sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provi-
sions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart
of

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three IV. pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

and not hire them out. XLI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any slave or slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging to, or in the possession of, any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such slave or slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such slave or slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

Certain runaways, how liable to be punished. XLII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall have been run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such slave or slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

Runaways absent six months, how punishable. XLIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such slave, being

ing duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to APPEN-
be confined to hard labour for such time as the DIX.
court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many Slaves mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked guilty of art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah, men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

XLV. And be it further Enacted by the autho- Slaves at-
rity aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave tempting shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or to poison, cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, to suffer death. or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessories, as well before as after the fact (being slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transpor-
tation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLVI. And

BOOK XLVI. And whereas great numbers of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts agreeably to their crimes, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person, who shall have the overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrate shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

XLVII. And

XLVII. And be it further Enacted by the APPEN-
authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other DIX.
slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any ^{Slaves} such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, ^{stealing} mule, or as, or shall kill any such horned cattle, ^{horned} sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or as, with intent ^{cattle how} to steal the whole carcass of any such horned punished.
cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or as, or any part of the flesh thereof, such negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to de-^{Slaves}clare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be ^{guilty of} tried for the several crimes which they may here-^{crimes} after commit, be it enacted by the authority ^{how tried.} aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatso-
ever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or trans-
portation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence ; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received ; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on

BOOK on which the complaint shall be made, and at
IV. the place where the quarter-sessions are usually
held, and, where there are no quarter-sessions
held, at the place where the parochial business is
usually transacted, and shall certify to two other
justices of the peace the cause of such commit-
ment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to
associate themselves to him, which said justices
are hereby severally required to do, under the
penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or
refusal; and the said justices, so associated, shall
issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons,
such as are usually warned and impanelled to
serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor
of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the at-
torney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper
of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the per-
son prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian,
trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted),
personally to be and appear before the said jus-
tices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be ex-
pressed in such warrant, and between the hours
of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and
where the said persons so warned are hereby seve-
rally required to attend, under the penalty of five
pounds; and when and where the said justices
shall cause the said slave or slaves, so complained
of, to be brought before them, and thereupon
nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid,
shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves,
and shall by the said justices (*the charge or accu-
sation being first read*) be sworn to try the mat-
ter before them, and to give a true verdict ac-
cording to evidence; and such charge or accu-
sation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in sub-
stance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing
the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves
guilty

guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they APPENDIX stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or ~~or~~ ~~transportation, or confinement to hard labour for any limited time not exceeding two years~~*, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with-child only excepted, whose execution shall be respite until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter-sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of enquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any slave or slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour, *as aforesaid*, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a slave-court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein before-mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct of, all and every slave and slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the said court of

* In the former act *for life*.

B O O K quarter-sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn, as they shall appear, to try all and every such slave and slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

^{IV.} ~~Jurors to serve under penal~~ ~~ty.~~ **XLIX.** And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter-

sessions, to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said slave-court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices, upon any such trial, where any slave or slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is made known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any slave or slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such slave or slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

^{Three justices to form a court.} **L.** And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any slave or slaves, for any crime or offence that shall subject such

such slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, APPEN-
or confinement to hard labour *as aforesaid*; and DIX.
that, upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges
of any of the said jurors, or any exception to
the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

L.I. And be it further Enacted by the authority How exe-
aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment
of death is inflicted, the execution shall be per-
formed in a public part of the parish, and with
due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the
gaoler or deputy-marshal, that the criminal is free
from intoxication at the time of his trial, and
from thence to and at the time of his execution,
under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode
of such execution shall be hanging by the neck,
and no other; and the body shall be afterwards
disposed of in such manner as the court shall di-
rect: And provided also, That where several
slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same of-
fence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases
of murder or rebellion.

L.II. And be it further Enacted by the authority Slavesgiv-
aforesaid, That, in case any slave or slaves shall wil-
fully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in
any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves,
being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same
punishment as the person or persons on whose
trial such false evidence was given would, if con-
victed, have been liable to suffer.

L.III. And be it further Enacted by the authority How fees
aforesaid, That, where any slave or slaves shall be dis- of slaves
charged by proclamation, the deputy marshal or discharged
workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all by procla-
such fees as shall be due to him or them for such mation are
paid.

BOOK slave or slaves, at the time of such discharge,
 IV. from the public, upon application and due proof
 made, in the most solemn manner, to the assembly,
 or any committee thereof, and that such slave or
 slaves, during the time they were in the custody
 of such deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper,
 was and were found and provided with proper and
 sufficient provisions equal to what is allowed by
 this law.

Clerk of the peace LIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered to record up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for slave trials. any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings, for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

Five days notice of LV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves

slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such APPENDIX.
trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, DIX.
or possessor, of such slave or slaves, his, her, or ^{their} ~~their~~ ^{trial to be}
their lawful attorney or attorney, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such slave or slaves, shall also enquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer of the said slave or slaves ought to receive for such slave or slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each slave sentenced as aforesaid.

LVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such slave or slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such slave or slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy-marshal shall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the use of the public.

LVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under

BOOK the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from
 IV. transportation, such negro or other slave shall,
 ——— upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of
 suffer
death.

Punish-
ment for
inferior
crimes.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attorneys, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

LX. And

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen APPEN-
to the community from the establishment of work- DIX.
houses in the respective parishes in this island, for ^{Provost-}
the reception of runaway and other slaves; And ^{marshal to}
whereas there now are many such slaves in the ^{deliver}
possession of the provost-marshal, or his lawful ^{runaways}
deputies, who might be employed in the work- ^{to work-}
houses in this island to great advantage; be it ^{house-}
therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, ^{keeper.}
That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall
and may be lawful for the governors and guar-
dians of the respective workhouses in this island,
if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and re-
ceive from the provost-marshal, or his lawful de-
puties, all or any of the runaway negroes or other
slaves in his or their possession, or that may here-
after come into his or their custody or possession,
upon the said governors and guardians paying un-
to the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, the
full amount of the fees and other contingent
charges attending the said runaway slaves during
the time of their being committed to gaol, agree-
ably to this or any former act; and the provost-
marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply
with such requisitions, under the penalty of fifty
pounds.

LXI. And be it further Enacted by the auth- Runaway
ority aforesaid, That no runaway slave shall, on any ^{to be com-}
account, be committed to gaol by any magis- ^{mitted to}
trate of a parish where there is any workhouse ^{work-}
established, but to such workhouse only. ^{house,}

LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffer- Horses,
ing negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, &c. be-
mules, or geldings, is attended with many and longing to
great mischiefs to the island in general; in order, ^{slaves, to}
therefore, ^{be taken} up and ^{fold.}

BOOK therefore, to remedy the same, Be it further
 IV, Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from
 and after the passing of this act, the master, owner,
 proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, admini-
 strator, or other person, in possession of every
 plantation or pen in this island, having on any
 such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule,
 or gelding, the reputed property of any slave or
 slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause
 them to be taken up, and shall produce them at
 the most public place in the parish where taken
 up, at such time as the justices and vestry shall,
 by advertisement in the public newspapers, ap-
 point for that purpose, and that such horses,
 mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there
 sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any
 master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian,
 executor, administrator, or other person as afore-
 said, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and
 every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal,
 respectively forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to
 be recovered in a summary manner before any
 two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct
 where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the
 oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses;
 which penalty shall be to the use of the person
 informing.

Penalty
for per-
mitting
slaves to
keep
horses.

LXIII. And be it further Enacted by the au-
 thority aforesaid, That from and after the passing
 of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney,
 guardian, executor, administrator, or other person,
 in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement,
 shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave or slave,
 to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement,
 any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in case
 of so doing, shall, for every offence, forfeit the
 sum

sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner APPEN-
aforesaid. DIX.

LXIV. And be it further Enacted by the au- Oath to
thority aforesaid, That every master, owner, pro- be made
prietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administra- that slaves
tor, or other person, at the respective times of have no
their giving in an account of their slaves and stock property.
to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath,
that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or
geldings, so given in, do belong to any negro or
other slave; and that such person, so giving in,
or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath
not, nor have, in his, her, or their possession, to
his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horse,
mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed
to belong to, any slave or slaves; and in case any
person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do,
every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for
every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds,
to be recovered in the same summary manner, and
to be disposed of as herein before-mentioned.

LXV. And be it further Enacted by the au- Slaves not
thority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing to pur-
of this act, no negro or other slave in this island chase hor-
shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or ses, &c.
gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such
horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed
of as herein before-mentioned: And if any person
whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule,
or gelding, to any negro or other slave, or to any
person in trust for such negro or other slave, every
such person shall, for every such horse, mare,
mule, or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the
sum of thirty pounds; and every person who
shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase
of,

BOOK of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust
 IV. for any negro or other slave, shall forfeit the sum
 of thirty pounds ; which said penalties shall be
 recovered in the same summary manner and dis-
 posed of as herein before-mentioned ; any law,
 custom, or usage to the contrary in any wise
 notwithstanding.

**Penalty
 for con-
 cealing
 slaves
 against
 whom
 warrants
 are issued.** LXVI. And be it further Enacted by the au-
 thority aforesaid, That in future, whenever a war-
 rant shall be granted by one or more of his ma-
 jesty's justices of the peace against any slave, if the
 said slave cannot be immediately taken on the said
 warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian,
 or overseer of such slave shall be served with a
 copy of the said warrant ; and if he, she, or they,
 do not carry the said slave before a magistrate, to
 be dealt with according to law on the said war-
 rant ; and if it shall be afterwards proved that
 the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or over-
 seer, of such slave wilfully detained or concealed
 said slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum
 of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas several slaves have late-
 ly found means to desert from their owners, and
 depart from this island, to the great damage of
 such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who
 may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to
 do the same : And whereas there is reason to sus-
 pect that such slaves have been aided and assisted
 in such escape and departure by other persons,
 and there is not any adequate punishment provid-
 ed by law for such desertion and departure, or
 attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this
 island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting,
 such deserters : For remedy whereof, Be it fur-
 ther

ther Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, APPENDIX DIX.
from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, ^{Slaves attempting} to depart any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft this island, whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, ^{to go off} to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting, in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

LXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons, so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

LXIX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, ^{on whites for aiding slaves to}

BOOK abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this
 IV. island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof
~~go off the~~ by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme
 court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall for-
 feit the sum of one hundred pounds for each
 slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our Sov-
 reign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, for
 and towards the support of the government of
 this island, and the contingent charges thereof,
 and the other moiety to the party or parties at
 whose suit or complaint such person was convict-
 ed, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the dis-
 cretion of the said court, for any space of time
 not exceeding twelve months, without bail or
 mainprize.

^{Persons so} LXX. And be it further Enacted by the au-
 thority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful
 to be pro- to proceed against the person or persons so aid-
 ceed- ing, assisting, or abetting, such slave or slaves in
 against. going off this island, whether the principal or
 principals be convicted or not; any thing in this,
 or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the
 contrary notwithstanding.

^{Overseers} LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates
 not to leave estates on leave the several estates under their care and manage-
 ment, on the respective seasons allowed for negro
 holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and
 pernicious practices are carried on; in order,
 therefore, to prevent the like for the future, Be
 it Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any
 overseer in this island shall absent himself from
 the estate under his care and management, on
 any of the particular holidays herein before-men-
 tioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of
 his

his employer, every such overseer so offending, APPENDIX shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five DIX. pounds, to be recovered by information, upon ~~two~~ oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice of the peace, sitting on the trial of any slave or slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

LXXIII. And be it further Enacted, That if any negro or other slave, who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the term of two years, or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such negro or other slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

LXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper, shall willingly or negligently suffer any slave or slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such slave or slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable, or workhouse-keeper, who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of

BOOK of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of
 IV. the owner to sue for the value of the same.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c. LXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no negro or other slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other white person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any negro or other slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

Justices to do their duty in martial law. LXXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Jurors, &c. pro- tected. LXXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at slave courts, and every person and persons whose presence may be requisite, at the examination of any slave or slaves, or upon the trial of any slave or slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace, and all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all mesne or judicial process whatsoever,

whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and APPEN-
returning from such examinations or trial, and DIX.
that such slaves shall not be subject to be levied ~~on~~

LXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the How pe-
authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act ^{nalties}
mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be
shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not ex- ^{recovered}
ceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a sum- <sup>and dif-
mary manner before any two of his majesty's ^{posed of.}
justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the
offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding
twenty pounds, to be recovered in the supreme
court of judicature of this island, or in either of
the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint,
or information, wherein no effoin, protection,
wager of law, or non vult ulterius prosequi, shall
be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall
be to the parish where the offence is committed,
and the other moiety to the informer, or him,
her, or them who shall sue for the same.</sup>

N U M B E R II.

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HISTOR Y OF THE Book IV.

AN ACCOUNT of the NUMBER of SHIPS, with their TONNAGE, which cleared from Great Britain to Africa, in each Year, from 1700, together with the TOTAL EXPORTS to Africa in each Year, during the same Period; distinguishing the VALUE of the British, India, and Foreign Goods; to which are added, the QUANTITY and VALUE of each ARTICLE, from the Year 1782.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandise.			Total.
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
1701	104	—	83,280	14	6	—	—	—	50,673	7	5	133,954
1702	72	—	54,733	11	5	—	—	—	41,318	14	4	96,052
1703	56	—	64,155	19	5	—	—	—	40,023	14	2	104,179
1704	50	—	47,646	14	3	—	—	—	39,019	3	7	86,665
1705	45	—	31,883	7	2	—	—	—	33,221	8	11	65,104
1706	42	—	37,003	16	—	—	—	—	19,682	11	4	56,616
1707	31	—	58,531	8	6	—	—	—	33,596	7	10	92,127
1708	—	—	40,507	18	7	—	—	—	15,85	18	—	55,993
1709	38	4430	33,539	9	1	—	—	—	25,864	3	4	59,403
1710	—	—	45,595	19	7	—	—	—	23,391	9	10	68,987
1711	—	—	37,518	7	11	—	—	—	26,758	7	3	64,276
1712	—	—	24,791	6	—	—	—	—	12,716	11	8	37,597
1713	—	—	87,934	8	3	—	—	—	23,871	—	1	111,805
1714	—	—	34,848	15	2	—	—	—	28,568	12	—	63,417
1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—	—	—	27,363	5	1	51,912

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandise.	Total.								
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1716	32	3,532	54,337	—	10	—	—	—	43,548	11	8	97,885	12	6
1717	43	4,845	59,186	4	—	—	—	—	53,263	8	2	112,449	12	2
1718	60	6,958	46,231	5	9	—	—	—	47,028	10	9	93,313	16	6
1719	39	3,900	29,382	9	2	—	—	—	37,059	5	9	66,441	14	11
1720	65	5,764	60,928	5	7	—	—	—	69,422	9	4	130,350	14	11
1721	54	5,140	48,908	3	1	—	—	—	77,148	—	4	126,056	3	5
1722	59	6,135	70,217	7	3	—	—	—	116,338	17	2	186,556	4	5
1723	55	4,200	62,242	16	—	—	—	—	76,264	17	3	138,507	13	3
1724	74	7,450	95,266	—	11	—	—	—	121,102	1	8	216,368	2	7
1725	—	—	121,273	3	10	—	—	—	162,751	12	—	284,024	15	10
1726	—	—	65,180	—	6	—	—	—	153,524	11	9	218,704	12	3
1727	—	—	64,225	18	3	—	—	—	74,381	16	3	138,607	14	6
1728	—	—	75,400	13	1	—	—	—	112,003	2	6	187,403	15	7
1729	—	—	96,895	4	11	—	—	—	156,484	17	6	253,380	2	5
1730	111	10,416	109,688	7	4	—	—	—	151,001	15	3	260,690	2	7
1731	—	—	101,076	3	2	—	—	—	105,027	1	2	206,103	4	4
1732	—	—	87,746	2	4	—	—	—	116,254	—	1	204,000	2	5
1733	—	—	50,005	17	4	—	—	—	78,781	17	5	128,787	14	9
1734	—	—	52,144	7	11	—	—	—	76,539	17	4	128,684	5	3
1735	—	—	30,721	—	1	—	—	—	99,698	4	9	130,419	4	10
1736	—	—	87,619	14	3	—	—	—	105,534	5	7	193,153	19	10
1737	109	10,560	107,872	4	3	—	—	—	126,227	19	4	234,100	3	7
1738	—	—	120,884	5	9	—	—	—	156,363	19	5	277,248	5	2
1739	—	—	87,630	6	8	—	—	—	132,243	8	4	219,873	15	—

Years	Ships	Tons.	British Manufacture	India Goods.			Foreign Merchandise.			Total.
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
1740	—	—	40,563	19	2	—	69,979	15	10	110,543
1741	—	—	65,708	6	10	—	66,983	2	1	132,691
1742	—	—	52,608	3	2	—	77,776	19	1	130,385
1743	—	—	98,497	6	9	—	120,551	—	4	219,048
1744	53	4,326	37,303	18	1	—	57,789	5	—	95,093
1745	—	—	26,665	4	9	—	44,734	6	3	71,399
1746	—	—	50,299	7	3	—	67,185	—	5	117,474
1747	—	—	78,846	17	9	—	107,553	4	—	186,400
1748	—	—	107,136	13	4	—	126,534	10	3	233,671
1749	—	—	109,819	12	8	—	88,619	11	8	198,439
1750	—	—	77,561	13	6	—	83,230	—	6	160,791
1751	94	9,843	100,378	17	7	—	114,261	6	6	214,640
1752	106	11,327	147,012	10	2	—	89,054	3	2	236,026
1753	126	12,053	207,324	17	10	—	68,035	11	—	275,360
1754	124	10,352	152,922	5	11	—	82,135	7	7	235,057
1755	86	7,617	111,688	10	4	—	61,981	9	8	173,670
1756	100	8,932	147,672	10	9	—	60,910	8	9	188,582
1757	74	7,856	111,725	19	4	—	42,772	3	4	154,498
1758	103	12,217	144,193	11	11	—	53,706	4	7	167,899
1759	120	13,212	137,315	3	—	—	101,145	7	—	228,460
1760	138	15,647	243,542	18	9	—	102,005	1	4	345,548
1761	138	15,689	246,720	1	5	—	78,587	—	6	325,307
1762	123	14,469	209,677	9	4	—	63,450	9	3	273,227
1763	163	18,939	346,242	8	3	—	117,576	1	1	463,818
1764	163	17,802	324,820	18	3	—	140,057	15	11	464,878
1765	163	8,754	333,647	9	6	—	135,387	4	10	469,034

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandise.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1766	134	15,665	364,180	6	9	—	—	—	132,609	5	3	496,789	12	—
1767	158	16,799	398,066	3	1	—	—	—	159,996	2	7	558,062	5	8
1768	134	13,471	416,297	9	11	—	—	—	196,094	19	9	612,392	9	8
1769	146	14,743	387,177	15	2	—	—	—	218,002	10	9	605,180	5	11
1770	156	16,211	347,353	14	8	—	—	—	223,750	12	1	571,003	6	9
1771	192	20,296	449,487	8	—	168,340	11	9	94,710	7	7	712,538	7	4
1772	175	19,021	564,013	14	—	187,727	15	10	114,653	1	5	866,394	11	3
1773	151	15,696	419,926	9	8	140,403	8	4	127,780	13	2	688,110	10	11
1774	167	17,218	528,333	5	—	183,095	17	8	135,096	9	9	846,525	12	5
1775	152	16,787	474,053	19	3	188,731	3	7	123,382	19	10	786,168	2	8
1776	101	12,083	300,623	16	4	96,329	13	1	73,825	11	8	476,779	1	1
1777	58	7,196	139,975	19	—	56,647	14	3	42,594	9	9	39,218	3	—
1778	41	5,316	95,690	19	8	34,154	8	6	24,340	13	6	154,086	1	10
1779	28	3,475	99,183	13	11	46,012	12	3	34,021	13	5	159,217	19	7
1780	53	7,355	121,288	1	5	56,627	17	—	17,991	15	7	195,907	14	—
1781	77	9,730	208,055	16	9	73,591	9	8	31,175	1	5	312,822	7	10
1782	69	9,311	253,250	11	8	71,254	18	—	27,229	8	9	351,734	18	5
1783	130	20,077	573,245	15	2	153,619	—	3	60,698	12	7	787,563	8	—
1784	99	14,383	360,012	12	5	122,624	7	2	41,348	16	7	523,985	16	2
1785	116	16,064	412,656	15	—	116,433	7	6	58,106	7	8	587,196	10	2
1786	146	21,483	583,052	12	7	176,076	8	5	129,609	1	10	888,738	2	10
1787	137	22,263	401,598	15	8	186,258	16	9	80,403	1	11	668,255	14	4



THE
H I S T O R Y,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK V.
AGRICULTURE.

C H A P. I.

Sugar Cane.—Known to the ancients.—*Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.*—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the West Indies. Evidence to prove that Columbus himself carried it from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reasoning to demonstrate that it was found growing spontaneously in the West Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and description.—Soils best adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, described.—Use and advantage of the plough.—Usual method of hoing and planting.—Season proper for planting.—Blast.—Manures.—Improvements suggested.

IN treating of the agriculture of the West Indian Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their great B O O K
V.
staple

BOOK V. staple commodity, sugar;—a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the most valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, in monkish Latin, into *Zueharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Açucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the east, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, describes a people who used the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine succos.

At what time the Indians discovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear; but sugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea, at a very early period. Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itself was unknown in Christendom, until the time of the Croisades. Its cultivation, and the method of expressing and purifying the juice, as practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are described by *Albertus Aquensis*, a monkish writer, who observes that the Christian soldiers in the Holy Land frequently derived refreshment and support, in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes. It flourished also in the Morea, and in the Islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canæ, with all its rights, members and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From

From Sicily, the Spaniards are said to have C H A P. conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the I. Canary and Cape-de-verd Islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way, at an early period, to Brasil and the West Indies; “producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru.”

Such is the commonly-received opinion respecting the history of this valuable production. Herrera positively asserts, that the sugar-cane was transplanted into Hispaniola from the Canary Islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilón *; but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the third Book of his first Decad, written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was, at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola.

The fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary Islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—“*Ad foetus pro-“ creandos, equas, oves, juvencas, et plura alia“ cum fui generis masculis: legumina, triticum,“ hordeum, et reliqua ijs similia, non solùm“ alimenti, verum etiam seminandi gratiâ, præ-“ feetus apparat: vites et aliarum nostratium“ arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad“ eam important: nullas enim apud eas insulas“ notas arbores invenere præter pinus palmasque*

* Vol. i. p. 320.

“ et

BOOK, "et eas altissimas, ac mirae duritiei et proceritatis
 V. " ac rectitudinis, propter soli ubertatem; atque
 " etiam ignotos fructus alias plures procreantes.
 " Terram aiunt esse terrarum omnium quas am-
 " biunt fidera, uberrimam." Although in this
 passage the sugar-cane is not expressly enum-
 erated, it is evident that it was not considered by
 Columbus as a native of the country; for he
 could not possibly have been unacquainted with
 this production, which grew in great perfection
 in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he
 found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants
 in the newly-discovered country, of which he had
 any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine
 and the palm. That the cane was then there,
 appears from a subsequent passage; in which,
 speaking of such vegetable productions as the
 Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed
 garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr
 has these words, which, combined with the for-
 mer, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question:
 —" Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id
 genus, in diem sextum et trigesimum carpferunt.
 Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aie-
 bant. Haec hortensia, toto anno habent recentia.
Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccarum ex-
torquetur, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas
intra quindecimum etiam diem emiserunt."

On the other hand, there are authors of great
 learning and industry who maintain that the
 sugar-cane is a native both of the islands and the
 continent of America, within the tropics. They
 assert, that it was found growing spontaneously
 in many parts of the new hemisphere, when first
 explored by the Spanish invaders. P. Labat,
 who appears to have considered the question with a
 laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion *,

* Tom. III. c. xv. p. 20.

and

and he quotes, in support of it, among other C H A P. authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canæs among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact, that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose, that they would plant sugar-canæs, and put hogs a-shore at the same time to destroy them."

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they considered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves, beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, besides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a Treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate *, we are assured by Jean de Lery, a pro-

* Piso observes, "In provincia Rio de la Plata, Cannas Sacchari sponte enasci, adolescereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chrystalla saccharea æstu solis exsudare, constat."

testant

BOOK protestant minister, who was chaplain, in 1556, to
V. the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on
the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar-
canes in great abundance in many places on the
banks of that river, and in situations never vi-
sited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepen, and
other voyagers, bear testimony in like manner to
the growth of the cane near the mouth of the
Mississippi; and Jean de Laet to its spontaneous
production in the Island of St. Vincent. It is
not for the plant itself, therefore, but for the se-
cret of making sugar from it, that the West In-
dies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portuguese;
and these to the nations of the east."

Such is the reasoning of Labat, which the
learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible;
and it is greatly strengthened by recent discov-
eries; the sugar-cane having been found in many
of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late
illustrious navigator Captain Cook.

In these accounts, however, there is no con-
tradiction. The sugar-cane might have grown
spontaneously in many parts of the New World;
and Columbus, unapprized of the circumstance,
might likewise have carried some of the plants to
Hispaniola, and such, I believe, was the fact. But
be this as it may, the industry with which the
Spanish settlers applied themselves to its cultiva-
tion, affords a wonderful contrast to the manners
of the present inhabitants; it appearing by the
testimony of Oviedo, that no less than thirty *inge-
nios*, or sugar mills, were established on that island
so early as 1535.

The botanical name of the sugar-cane is *Arundo
Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating
in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and
sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong
but

but brittle, and when ripe of a fine straw colour, C H A P. inclinable to yellow ; and it contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice of a sweetnes the least cloying and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the soil ;—in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances. In strong lands, and lands richly manured, I have seen some that measured twelve feet from the stole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers or shoots *.

It may be supposed that a plant, thus rank and succulent, requires a strong and deep soil to bring it to perfection, and, as far as my own observation has extended, I am of opinion that no land can be too rich for that purpose.—When bad sugar is made from fat and fertile soils, properly situated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to mismanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very best soil however that I have seen or heard of, for the production of sugar of the finest quality, and in the largest proportion, is the ashy loam of St. Christopher's,

* The tops of canes sometimes shoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pannicle, the glumes of which contain a whitish dust, or rather seed ; yet these being sowed never vegetate, as I have heard, in the West Indian islands ; a circumstance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the spontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyssinia and other parts of the East it is easily raised from the seed. *Vid. Bruce's Travels.*

BOOK of which an account has been given in the history of that island. Next to that, is the soil which in Jamáica is called *brick-mold*; not as resembling a brick in colour, but as containing such a due mixture of clay and sand, as is supposed to render it well adapted for the use of the kiln.— It is a deep, warm and mellow, hazel earth, easily worked; and though its surface soon grows dry after rain, the under stratum retains a considerable degree of moisture in the driest weather;— with this advantage too, that even in the wettest season, it seldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this soil (which are those of the first growth) have been known in very fine seasons to yield two tons and a half of sugar per acre*. After this, may be reckoned the black mold, of several varieties. The best is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and some other of the Windward Islands; but there is a species of this mold in Jamáica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limestone and flint, on a substratum of soapy marle. Black mold on clay is more common, but as the mold is generally shallow, and the clay stiff and retentive of water, this last sort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulverised and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be said to be inexhaustible. It were endless to attempt a minute description of all the other soils which are

* This species of soil abounds very generally in the French part of Hispaniola—which gives that noble island so great a superiority over most of our own sugar colonies. In Jamáica, it is confined to a few parishes only, and in those parishes to particular spots. In some places this sort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumstance, if the seasons are favourable, is of no great disadvantage.

found

found in these islands. There is however a peculiar sort of land on the north side of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, that cannot be passed over unnoticed, not only on account of its scarcity, but its value; few soils producing finer sugars, or such (I have been told by sugar refiners) *as answer so well in the pan*—an expression, signifying, as I understand it, a greater return of refined sugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red colour; the shades of which however vary considerably, from a deep chocolate to a rich scarlet; in some places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when first turned up, for a glossy or shining surface, and if wetted, stains the fingers like paint. I have selected specimens which are hardly distinguishable, by the eye or the touch, from the substance called gamboge. Earths of various shades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the West Indies, but in none of them are observed the same glossy appearance and cohesion as in the soil in question, which appears to me to consist of a native earth or pure loam with a mixture of clay and sand. It is easily worked, and at the same time so tenacious, that a pond dug in this soil in a proper situation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the stiffest clay. It is remarkable however that the same degree of ploughing or pulverization which is absolutely necessary to render stiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unnecessary but hurtful;—for though the soil is deep, it is at the same time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore too much exposure to the scorching influence of a tropical sun, destroys its fertility, the system of husbandry on sugar plantations, in which this

BOOK this soil abounds, is to depend chiefly on what
V. are called *ratoon* canes. Ratoons are the sprouts
or suckers that spring from the roots, or stoles of
the canes that have been previously cut for sugar,
and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes
of the first growth, as hath been observed, are
called plant-canæs. They are the immediate pro-
duce of the original plants or gems placed in the
ground, and require from fifteen to seventeen
months to bring them to maturity. The first
yearly returns from their roots are called *first ratoons* ; the second year's growth, *second ratoons* ;
and so on, according to their age. In most
parts of the West Indies it is usual to hole and
plant a certain proportion of the cane land (com-
monly one-third) in annual succession. This, in
the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe,
is frequently attended with great and excessive la-
bour to the negroes, which is faved altogether by
the system we are treating of. By the latter method,
the planter, instead of stocking up his ratoons,
and holing and planting the land anew, suffers
the stoles to continue in the ground, and contents
himself, as his cane-fields become thin and im-
poverished, by supplying the vacant spaces with
fresh plants. By these means, and the aid of ma-
nure, the produce of sugar *per acre*, if not ap-
parently equal to that from the best plant-canæs in
other foils, gives perhaps in the long-run full as
great returns to the owner ; considering the rela-
tive proportion of the labour and expence attend-
ing the different systems.—The common yielding
of this land, on an average, is seven hogsheads
of sixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut an-
nually.

In the cultivation of other lands in Jamaica
(especially) the plough has been introduced of late
years,

years, and in some few cases to great advantage; C H A P. but it is not every soil or situation that will admit I. the use of the plough; some lands being much too stoney, and others too steep; and I am sorry I have occasion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is used, which would exhaust the finest lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then cross ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the same lands from year to year, or at least every other year, without affording manure: accordingly it is found that this method is utterly destructive of the ratoon or second growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed astonishing that any planter of common reading or observation, should be passive under so pernicious a system.— Some gentlemen however of late manage better: their practice is to break up stiff and clayey land, by one or two ploughings, early in the spring, and give it a summer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more easily worked, it is hoed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which shall be presently described. But in truth, the only advantageous system of ploughing in the West Indies, is to confine it to the simple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and dispatch by the plough, than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the case of stiff and dry soils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all estimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this subject I speak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greatest part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and sufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys and eight oxen, with the common single-

BOOK single-wheeled plough. The plough-share indeed is somewhat wider than usual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the simplest possible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench seven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom.—A space of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mold being thrown by the share, the banks are properly formed, and the holing is compleat. Thus the land is not exhausted by being too much exposed to the sun; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great ease, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be described.

The usual mode of holing by manual labour is as follows:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is first divided into several plats of certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the spaces between each plat or division, are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting, and are called *intervals*. Each plat is then sub-divided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the squares are a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six inches. The mold which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower side, the excavation or cane-hole seldom exceeds fifteen inches in width.

width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at C H A P. the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before. Thus the several squares between each line are formed into a trench of much the same dimensions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from sixty to eighty of these holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previously ploughed and lain fallow, the same negro will dig nearly double the number in the same time *.

The cane-holes or trench being now compleated, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings selected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for sugar (each cutting containing five or six gems) two of them are sufficient for a cane-hole of the dimensions described †. These, being placed lon-

* As the negroes work at this business very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily strength, it is sometimes the practice to put two negroes to a single square; but if the land has not had the previous assistance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of 50 able negroes for 13 days to hole 20 acres. In Jamaica, some gentlemen, to ease their own slaves, have this laborious part of the planting business performed by job work. The usual price for hoing and planting is £6. currency per acre (equal to £4. 7s. sterling). The cost of falling and clearing heavy wood land is commonly as much more.

† It is a maxim with some people to plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich; but it is a maxim founded in error. They suppose that the richer the soil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they forget that the plant itself will, in such soils, put forth shoots in abundance; and most of which, *if the lands are not over-planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mold the shoots choke and destroy each other. On the other hand, in soils where the canes will not stock, (viz. put out fresh shoots) the overseer must supply the greater number of plants in the first instance, or the produce will be little or nothing.

gitudinally

BOOK gitudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered V. with mold about two inches deep; the rest of the bank being intended for future use. In twelve or fourteen days the young sprouts begin to appear, and, as soon as they rise a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furnished with an addition of mold from the banks. This is usually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and the spaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Frequent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed so essentially necessary, that no other merit in an overseer can compensate for the want of attention in this particular.—A careful manager will remove at the same time, all the lateral shoots or suckers that spring up after the canes begin to joint, as they seldom come to maturity, and draw nourishment from the original plants.

The properst season, generally speaking, for planting, is unquestionably in the interval between August and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal seasons, the young canes become sufficiently luxuriant to shade the ground before the dry weather sets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moist. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the beginning of the second year, so as to enable the overseer or manager to finish his crop (except as to the few canes which are reserved to furnish cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November lose the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens that dry weather, in the beginning of the ensuing year, retards their vegetation, until the vernal seasons, or May rains, set in; when they sprout both at the roots and the joints; so that

by

by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with CHAP. unripe suckers, instead of sugar-canes. A January I. plant, however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very late in the spring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, seldom answer expectation; for they generally come in unseasonably, and throw the ensuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal seasons set in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occasioned them to spring afresh; in either case the effect is the same: The juice is unconcocted, and all the sap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nourishment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this: that the canes become rank and top-heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The observation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is just; and on this account, some gentlemen have introduced the following system: They plant in August and September, clean the young sprouts, and give them mold occasionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants close to the ground with knives, and level the bank; spreading the remainder of the mold over the roots; which soon afterwards send out a number of vigorous and luxuriant shoots all of an equal growth. It is alledged that by this means the cane is not too rank in the stormy months, and nevertheless comes to perfection in good time the succeeding spring. I cannot say that I have had, of my own experience, a fair trial of this method; but I have been assured by very intelligent overseers, that

BOOK they never knew canes yield so well, as by this
V. practice.

On the whole, it is a striking and just remark of Colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the system of planting, than to make sugar, or to plant canes in improper seasons of the year; for by mismanagements of this kind every succeeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he observes, ought to be considered as a well-constructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end proposed; but if any one part runs too fast, or too slow, in proportion to the rest, the main purpose is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuse the want of hands or cattle; because these wants must either be supplied, or the planter must contract his views, and proportion them to his abilities; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual disorder, and conclude in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable soils, nor seasonable weather, will at all times, exempt the planter from misfortunes. The sugar-cane is subject to a disease which no foresight can obviate, and for which human wisdom has hitherto, I fear, attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blast*; it is the *aphis* of Linnæus, and is distinguished into two kinds, the black and the yellow; of which the latter is the most destructive. It consists of myriads of little insects, invisible to the naked eye, whose proper food is the juice of the cane; in search of which they wound the tender blades, and consequently destroy the vessels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is checked,

ed, until it withers or dies in proportion to the C H A P.
degree of the ravage*.

I.

Over what appears to be thus irremediable, it is idle to lament; and I mention the circumstance chiefly to have an opportunity of repeating what I have heard frequently affirmed, that the *blast* never attacks those plantations, where colonies have been introduced of that wonderful little animal the carnivorous ant †. It is certain that these minute and busy creatures soon clear a sugar plantation of rats (in some places a most destructive pest) and that insects and animalcula of all kinds, seem to constitute their natural food. The fact therefore may be true; but having had no opportunity to verify it by ocular demonstration, I consign it over to future enquiry. If the information be just, the discovery is of importance.

* In some of the Windward Islands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be destroyed also by a species of grub called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at least to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having seen it, I can give no certain description of it. I conceive the insect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fusca* of Sloane.

† It is the *Formica omnivora* of Linnaeus, and is called in Jamaica the *Raffles*' ant, having been introduced there, as is commonly believed, by one Thomas Raffles, from the Havanna; about the year 1762.—But I conceive it was known in the island from the earliest times, and that it is precisely described by Sloane, as the *Formica fusca minima, antennis longissimis*. It is probably the same which, in the introduction to his first volume, he relates that the ancient Spanish inhabitants so much complained of. He says, that the Spaniards deserted the part of the country where they had first settled, merely on account of these troublesome inmates; declaring, that they frequently eat out the eyes of their young children as they lay in their cradles. If the reader has faith enough to credit this circumstance, he may believe some marvellous stories of the same kind, which are now-a-days related of the same insects by many venerable old gentlewomen in Jamaica.

BOOK Hitherto, I have said nothing of a very important branch in the system of sugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The necessity of giving even the best soil occasional assistance is universally admitted, and the usual way of doing it in the West Indies is now to be described.

The manure generally used is a compost formed,

1st. Of the vegetable ashes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and still houses.

2dly. Feculencies discharged from the still-house, mixed up with rubbish of buildings, whitelime, &c.

3dly. Refuse, or field-trash, (i. e.) the decayed leaves and stems of the canes; so called in contradistinction to cane-trash, reserved for fuel, and hereafter to be described.

4thly. Dung, obtained from the horse and mule stables, and from moveable pens, or small inclosures made by posts and rails, occasionally shifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mold, collected from *gullies*, and other waste places, and thrown into the cattle-pens.

The first, (i. e.) *ashes*, is commonly supposed to be a manure of itself, well adapted for cold and stiff clays; and in some parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed, in cart loads, to the land where it is intended to be used. It is left there (or in some spot adjoining) in large heaps, until the land is holed; after which a basket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mold at the time the plants are put into the ground.

ground. It may be doubted, however, whether C H A P. I. ashes, applied in this manner, are of much advantage. I have been told, that if the land is opened five years afterwards, they will be found undissolved *. At other times, wain loads of the compost or dunghill before-mentioned, are carried out, and used in nearly the same manner as the ashes.

But the chief dependance of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occasional inclosures before described; not so much for the quantity of dung collected by means of those inclosures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle (the best of all manures), and the labour which is saved by this system. I believe, indeed, there are a great many overseers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of shifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the intended spot for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or hoed.

What has hitherto been said, however, relates solely to the method of preparing lands for plant[•] canes. Those who trust chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as necessary to give their cane-fields attention and assistance, from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of Colonel Martin, so soon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off, by a sharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-stools, *three inches below the surface of the soil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mold; by which means, he thinks that all the sprouts rising from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorously than otherwise. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the sugar islands. It is the

* On wet lands, not easily trenched, ashes may be useful in absorbing superfluous moisture, and may therefore sometimes prove a good top dressing.

practice,

BOOK practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to V. spread baskets full of dung round the stools, so soon after the canes have been cut as circumstances will admit, and the ground has been refreshed by rains. In dry and scorching weather it would be labour lost. The young sprouts are, at the same time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is spread round them, being covered with cane-trash that its virtues may not be exhaled by the sun, is found at the end of three or four months, to be soaked into and incorporated with the mold. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the spaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requisite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *trafing* ratoons (i. e.) stripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and justly exploded*.

Such is the general system of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told, that more attention is paid to this branch of husbandry, in some of the islands to Windward; but I suspect that there is, in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of judicious tillage, and artificial assistance. Why, for instance, are not the manures of lime and sea-sand, which abound in these islands, and have been found so exceedingly beneficial in Great

* It should have been observed, that it is sometimes the custom, after a field of canes has been cut, to set fire to the trash. This is called *burning off*, and there are managers and overseers who consider it as one of the best methods of meliorating the land. I confess that I am of a different opinion. Perhaps, indeed, in moist, stiff, and clayey lands, *it may do no harm*; and this negative praise is the only merit I can allow it. From the usual and prevalent nature of the soil best adapted for sugar, I am persuaded that, nine times in ten, it is a mischievous practice.

Britain, brought into use? Limestone alone, even C H A P. without burning, (the expence of which might I. perhaps be an objection) has been found to answer in cold, heavy, and moist lands; no other trouble being requisite than merely to spread it over the ground, and break it into small pieces by sledge-hammers. Of this, the quantities are inexhaustible. Marle is another manure of vast and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the poorest land, opens the stiffest, and sweetens and corrects the most rank. Lands have been raised by the use of this manure, from two shillings per acre to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is no country under the sun, wherein a soft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the question, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better answer, I believe, can be given, than that the planters in general have no leisure for experiments, and that it is difficult to make agents and servants (who have every thing to risk, and nothing to gain) walk out of the sure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this observation.

But it is not my province to propose systems, but to record facts;—to describe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be*; and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field, into the boiling-house, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

C H A P. II.

Crop-time the season of health and festivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Process for obtaining raw or muscovado sugar.—Molasses, and its disposal.—Process of making clayed sugar.—Of rum.—Still-houses and stills.—Cisterns and their ingredients.—Windward Island process.—Jamaica method of double distillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of sweets, ascertained and stated.

BOOK **T**HE time of crop in the sugar islands, is the season of gladness and festivity to man and beast. **V.** So palatable, salutary, and nourishing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it, derives health and vigour from its use. The meagre and sickly among the negroes, exhibit a surprizing alteration in a few weeks after the mill is set in action. The labouring horses, oxen, and mules, though almost constantly at work during this season, yet being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and some of the scummings from the boiling-house, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry fatten on the refuse. In short, on a well-regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is such an appearance during crop-time of plenty and busy cheerfulness, as to soften, in a great measure, the hardship of slavery, and induce a spectator to hope, when the miseries

miseries of life are represented as insupportable, C H A P. that they are sometimes exaggerated through the IL medium of fancy *.

The great obstacle at this season to the progress of such of the planters as are not happily furnished with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or insufficiency of their mills; for though a sugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very simple contrivance, great force is nevertheless requisite to make it overcome the resistance which it necessarily meets with. It consists principally of three upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes (being previously cut short, and tied into bundles) are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or screen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the second and third; an operation

* "He" (says honest old Slare the physician) "that undertakes to argue against *sweets* in general, takes upon him a very difficult task, for nature seems to have recommended this taste to all sorts of creatures; the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, many reptiles and flies seem to be pleased and delighted with the specific relish of all sweets, and to distaste its contrary. Now the sugar-cane, or sugar, I hold for the top and highest standard of vegetable sweets." Sugar is obtainable in some degree from most vegetables, and Dr. Cullen is of opinion, that sugar is *directly* nutritious. There is also good reason to suppose, that the general use of sugar in Europe has had the effect of extinguishing the scurvy, and many other diseases formerly epidemical.

which

BOOK which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a vessel called the Receiver. The refuse, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-trash*, in contradistinction to field-trash described in the preceding chapter) serves for fuel to boil the liquor*.

The

* In Barbadoes, and some other of the islands where the sea-breeze is unobstructed by high mountains, wind-mills work to admiration ; but in Jamaica, unless on high situations near the coast, they seldom answer the expence of their erection ; and the planter who is not happily situated near a copious stream of water, must trust principally to the drudgery of horses, oxen, or mules, in what is usually called a cattle-mill ; which, generally speaking, is such a heavy and laborious piece of machinery, that the heart sickens at beholding it work. Various have been the contrivances to obviate its defects. Friction-wheels have been applied in some cases, and the side-rollers have been enlarged in others ; but I fear that no certain dependance can be placed on any of these supposed improvements. If, indeed, a judgment may be formed from a few solitary instances, no improvement in the plan or design is necessary ; for it sometimes happens that cattle-mills constructed on the old simple system of three rollers of equal dimensions, perform with as much ease and facility as can be reasonably expected. I have seen a machine of this kind, which was worked with eight mules, deliver from three hundred to three hundred and fifty gallons of liquor in an hour, from very indifferent canes, and sometimes much more ; and this too, without any great fatigue to the mules. Surely it deserves enquiry why, as such facility is sometimes experienced, it is not experienced *always* ? I mean, supposing the strength of the mules and the resistance to be equal. The fact, however, is, that other mills, on the same apparent construction, urged by the same force, and operating on the same degree of resistance, shall not give, from canes equally juicy, one half the same return in the same time. The fault, therefore, seems to me to rest more with the mill-wright than with the machine ; and I am always inclined, in such cases, to suspect, either that the work is not true, that the mill is improperly braced,

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains C H A P. eight parts of pure water, one part of sugar, and IL one part made up of grofs oil, and mucilaginous gum with a portion of essential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium ; for some juice has been so rich as to make a hoghead of sugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and some so watery as to require more than double that quantity. By a hoghead I mean sixteen hundred weight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum ; so that an exact analysis of any one quantity of juice would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity *.

The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice ; besides which, the following matters are usually contained in it.— Some of the bands or green tops, which serve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yield a raw acid juice exceedingly disposed to ferment and render the whole liquor sour. Some pieces of the trash or ligneous part of the cane ; some dirt ; and lastly, a substance of some importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the crust*. The crust is a thin black coat of matter that surrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint upwards, till the upper part between the joints appears entirely free from it, and resumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be scaled off by the point of a pen-knife. It is a fine black pow-

braced, or that there is some other defect which may and ought to be remedied, without the vast expence to which the disappointed planter, on these occasions, is commonly driven in the erection of new machinery.

* A pound of sugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analysed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and spongy glossy charcoal.

der,

BOOK dor, that mixes with the clammy exudations per-
 V. spired from the cane, and is most probably pro-
 ~duced by *animalcula*. As the fairness of the sugar
 is one of the marks of its goodness, a small quan-
 tity of such a substance must considerably preju-
 dice the commodity.

The process for obtaining the sugar is thus con-
 ducted. The juice or liquor runs from the re-
 ceiver to the boiling-house, along a wooden gutter lined with lead. In the boiling-house it is re-
 ceived (according to the modern improved system
 which almost universally prevails in Jamaica) into
 one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clar-
 ifiers. Of these there are commonly three; and
 their dimensions are generally determined by the
 power of supplying them with liquor. There are
 water-mills that will grind with great ease canes
 sufficient for thirty hogsheads of sugar in a week.
 On plantations thus happily provided, the means
 of quick boiling are indispensably requisite, or
 the cane-liquor will unavoidably become tainted
 before it can be exposed to the fire. The purest
 cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the
 receiver without fermenting*. Clarifiers, there-
 fore, are sometimes seen of one thousand gallons
 each. But as powers of the extent described are
 uncommon, I shall rather confine myself to such
 properties as fall within the reach of daily obser-
 vation; to plantations, for instance, that make
 on a medium during crop-time, from fifteen to
 twenty hogsheads of sugar a week. On such
 estates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred

* As cane-juice is so very liable to fermentation, it is ne-
 cessary also that the canes should be ground as soon as possible
 after they are cut, and great care taken to keep and throw
 aside those which are tainted, which may afterwards be ground
 for the still-house.

gallons

gallons each, are sufficient. With pans of this **C H A P.** size, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leisure to cleanse the vessels every time they are used. Each clarifier is provided either with a syphon, or a cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a separate fire, each chimney having an iron slider, which being shut, the fire goes out for want of air. These circumstances are indispensible, and the advantages of them will presently be shewn *.

The stream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with fresh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Bristol white-lime in powder, is stirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the superabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in sugar-making. This is generally effected by the *Alkali* or lime; part of which, at the same time, becomes the basis of the sugar. The quantity necessary for this purpose, must of course vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor.— Some planters allow a pint of Bristol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large.—

* The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling-house. If at one end, the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and several boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The *teache* is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and *teache* diminish in size from the first to the last.— Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is usually a set of three boilers of each side, which constitute in effect a double boiling-house. On very large estates this arrangement is found useful and necessary. The objection to so great a number is the expence of fuel, to obviate which in some degree, the three boilers on each side of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

The

BOOK ^{V.} The lime is perceptible in the sugar both to the smell and taste, and precipitates in the copper pans a black insoluble calx, which scorches the bottom of the vessels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive therefore that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that less of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconvenience attending the use of dry lime, Mr. Bousie's method of dissolving it in boiling water, previous to mixing it with the cane juice, appears to me to be highly judicious *.

As the fire increases in force, and the liquor grows hot, a scum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane,

* This gentleman (Mr. Bousie) to whom the assembly of Jamaica gave £.1000 for his improvements in the art of sugar-boiling, in a paper distributed by him among the members, recommends the use of a vegetable *alkali*, or ashes of wood calcinated, such as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, cashew or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards sensible that sugar formed on the basis of fixed alkaline salts never stands the sea, unless some earth is joined with the salts. Such earth as approaches nearest to that which is the basis of alum, would perhaps be most proper. As sugar on a vegetable alkaline basis, is generally as much superior in colour, as that on lime is in grain; how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline salts and lime, might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline salts alone, is an enquiry that ought to be pursued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other *alkali* would be hurtful, as may be shewn by adding a few grains of lime or *alkali* to a clear solution of refined sugar: a precipitation will ensue. In some parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Bousie made very good sugar without a particle of temper. I have said, that too much temper is perceptible in the sugar, both to the smell and taste: it might be added, *and also to the sight*. It tinges the liquor first yellow, and if in excess turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewise prevents the molasses from separating from the sugar when it is potted or put into the hoghead.

with

with some of the oil, and such impurities as the C H A P. mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is II. now suffered gradually to increase, until it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor must by no means be suffered to boil: it is known to be sufficiently heated when the scum begins to rise into blisters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguished; after which, the liquor is suffered to remain a full hour, if circumstances will admit, undisturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and rise in the scum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a syphon, which draws up a pure defecated stream through the scum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either case the scum sinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almost, if not perfectly, transparent*.

The advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, instead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practised formerly, is visible to the most inattentive observer. The labour which it saves in scumming, is wonderful. Neither can scumming properly cleanse the subject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it cir-

* The merit of introducing into Jamaica the clarifiers at present in use, with syphons and dampers, was claimed by Mr. Samuel Sainthill, and an exclusive patent, to secure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the assembly.

BOOK culates with such rapidity as to carry down again
V. the very impurities that had come up to the sur-
face, and with a less violent heat would have staid
there.

In the grand or evaporating copper, which should be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is suffered to boil; and as the scum rises, it is continually taken off by large scummers, until the liquor grows finer and somewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the scumming and evaporation, the subject is sufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or second copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the second copper the boiling and scumming are continued; and if the subject is not so clean as is expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but also to dilute the liquor, which sometimes thickens too fast to permit the feculencies to run together and rise in the scum. Liquor is said to have a good appearance in the second copper, when the froth in boiling arises in large bubbles, and is but little discoloured. When, from such scumming and evaporation, the liquor is again sufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and so on to the last copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement supposes four boilers or coppers, exclusive of the three clarifiers.

In the *teache* the subject is still further evaporated, till it is judged sufficiently boiled to be removed from the fire. This operation is usually called *striking*; i. e. lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The

The cooler, of which there are commonly six, C H A P. is a shallow wooden vessel, about eleven inches II. deep, seven feet in length, and from five to six feet wide. A cooler of this size holds a hog-head of sugar. Here the sugar grains; i. e. as it cools, it runs into a coarse irregular mass of imperfect semiformed crystals, separating itself from the molasses. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-house, where the molasses drains from it *.

But, before we follow it into the curing-house, it may be proper to notice the rule for judging when the subject is sufficiently evaporated for *striking*, or become fit for being ladled from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers guess solely by the eye (which by long habit they do with great accuracy), judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice most in use is to judge by what is called *the touch*; i. e. taking up with the thumb a small portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and, as the heat diminishes, drawing with the forefinger the liquid into a thread. This thread will suddenly break, and shrink from the thumb to the suspended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or less boiled. The proper boiling height for strong muscovado sugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by

* It may be proper in this place to observe; that, in order to obtain a large-grained sugar, it must be suffered to cool *slowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too shallow, the grain is injured in a surprising manner. Any person may be convinced of this, by pouring some of the hot syrup, when fit for striking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very small grain.

BOOK long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furnish any degree of skill in a matter depending wholly on constant practice*.

I now return to the curing-house, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious molasses cistern, the sides of which are sloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this cistern there is a frame of massy joist-work without boarding. On the joists of this frame, empty hogsheads, without headings, are ranged. In

* It is probable that from this practice of trying by the *toueb* (*taebio*) the vessel called the *teache* derives its name. A method more certain and scientific was recommended some years ago to the public, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Esquire, Barrister at Law, in the Island of Jamaica, in a Treatise published by him, in 1775, intituled, *An Essay on the Art of making Muscovado Sugar*. It is as follows:—"Provide a small thin pane of clear crown glass, set in a frame, which I would call a *tryer*; on this drop two or three drops of the subject, one on the other, and carry your tryer out of the boiling-house into the air. Observe your subject, and more particularly whether it grains freely, and whether a small edge of molasses separates at the bottom. I am well satisfied that a little experience will enable you to judge what appearance the whole skip will put on, *when cold*, by this specimen, which is also *cold*. This method is used by chemists, to try evaporated solutions of all other salts; it may seem, therefore, somewhat strange it has not been long adopted in the boiling-house."—I cannot mention Mr. Baker's Treatise, without observing, that I am considerably indebted to it in the course of this chapter, having adopted (with some small variation, founded on late improvements) his account of the process of boiling sugar. But the inhabitants of the sugar islands are under still greater obligations to Mr. Baker;—for it appears to me, that the present improved system of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of vessels hung to separate fires, and provided with dampers to prevent ebullition, was first suggested to Mr. Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatise in question; a performance that, for useful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and composition, would have done honour to the first writer of the age.

the

the bottoms of these hogsheads eight or ten holes CHAP. are bored, through each of which the stalk of a II. plantain leaf is thrust, six or eight inches below the joists, and is long enough to stand upright above the top of the hogshead. Into these hogsheads the mass from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the molasses drains through the spungy stalk and drops into the cistern, from whence it is occasionally taken for distillation. The sugar in about three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then said to be cured, and the process is finished *.

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muscovado*, and is the raw material from whence the British sugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another sort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domestic purposes, and was generally known by the name of Lisbon sugar. It is fair, but of soft texture, and in the West Indies is called *clayed* sugar; the process is conducted as follows:—

A quantity of sugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes*, with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the molasses to drain through, but which at first is closed with a plug. When the sugar in these pots is cool, and become a fixed body, which is discoverable by the middle of the top falling in (generally about twelve hours from the first potting of the hot sugar) the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the syrup or molasses that drains from it. In this state it is left as long as the me-

* The curing-house should be close and warm—as warmth contributes to free the sugar from the molasses.

BOOK laffes continues to drop, which it will do from V. twelve to twenty-four hours, when a stratum of clay is spread on the sugar, and moistened with water, which oozing imperceptibly through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the melasses, consequently more of it comes away than from sugar cured in the hogshead, and the sugar, of course, becomes so much the whiter and purer. The process, according to Sloane, was first discovered in Brasil, by accident; "a hen," says he, "having her feet dirty, going over a pot of sugar, it was found under her tread to be whiter than elsewhere." The reason assigned why this process is not universally adopted in the British sugar islands, is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the melasses, dissolves and carries with it so much of the sugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwise, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the necessary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the system.

O F R U M.

Having now furnished the reader with the best account I am able to give of the art of making sugar from the cane-juice, I shall proceed to a subsequent process, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it, by fermentation and distillation, one of the purest, most fragrant, and salutary spirits in the world; a process of far greater curiosity than the former, and of almost equal importance in point of value, considering that the spirit procured

cured by its means, is obtained from the very C H A P. dregs and feculencies of the plant. II.

The still-houses on the sugar-plantations in the British West Indies, vary greatly in point of size and expence, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a substantial manner of stone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houses together. Large stills, by which I mean such as contain from one to three thousand gallons of liquor, have this advantage over small ones; that they are purchased at first at a less proportionate expence. A still of two thousand gallons, with freight and charges, will cost but little more than one of one thousand five hundred gallons, and is besides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every proprietor that has the means of employing stills of that magnitude, I shall consider such as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, and proceed to describe, according to the best of my observation and experience, the mode of conducting such an apparatus on such a property, in making rum to the greatest advantage.

For a plantation of that description, I conceive that two copper stills, the one of one thousand two hundred, and the other of six hundred gallons, wine measure, with proportionate pewter worms, are sufficient. The size of the tank (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immerfed, must depend on circumstances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running stream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a vessel barely large enough to contain the

BOOK the worm. If the plantation has no other dependency than that of pond-water, a stone tank is infinitely superior to a tub, as being longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thousand gallons, the worms of both the stills may be placed in the same body of water, and kept cool enough for condensing the spirit, by occasional supplies of fresh water.

For working these stills and worms, it is necessary to provide, first, a dunder-cistern, of at least three thousand gallons; secondly, a cistern for the scummings; lastly, twelve fermenting vats or cisterns, each of them of the contents of the largest still, viz. one thousand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, cisterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are universally preferred to vats, or moveable vessels, for the purpose of fermenting. They are not so easily affected by the changes of the weather, nor so liable to leak as vats, and they last much longer. But in the British distilleries, fermenting-cisterns are, I believe, unknown. To compleat the apparatus, it is necessary to add two or more copper pumps for conveying the liquor from the cisterns, and pumping up the dunder, and also butts or other vessels for securing the spirit when obtained; and it is usual to build a rum-store adjoining the still-house.

The ingredients or materials that set the various apparatus I have described into action, consist of,

1st. Melasses, or treacle drained from the sugar, as already described.

2dly. Scummings of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling-house, or sometimes raw-cane liquor, from canes expressed for the purpose.

3dly.

3dly. Lees, or, as it is called in Jamaica, C H A P.
dunder *.

II.

4thly. Water.

The use of dunder in the making of rum, answers the purpose of yeast in the fermentation of flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former distillations; and some few planters preserve it for use, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor therefore, composed of sweets and water alone, ought to be distilled in the first instance, that fresh dunder may be obtained. It is a dissolvent menstruum, and certainly occasions the sweets with which it is combined, whether molasses or scummings, to yield a far greater proportion of spirit than can be obtained without its assistance. The water which is added, acts in some degree in the same manner by dilution.

In the Windward Islands the process, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

Scummings, one-third.

Lees, or dunder, one-third.

Water, one-third.

When these ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will rise in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the first charge of molasses, of which six gallons † for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, *viz.* 3 per cent. at the first charge, and the other 3 per cent. a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a

* From *redundar*, Spanish—the same as *redundans* in Latin.

† This quantity of molasses, added to a third of scummings, gives 11½ per cent. of sweets, six gallons of scummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of molasses.

high

BOOK high state of fermentation ; the heat of which, V. however, should not in general be suffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer †.

When the fermentation falls by easy degrees from the fifth to the seventh or eighth day §, so as then to grow fine, and throw up slowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for distillation ; and the liquor or wash being conveyed into the largest still, which must not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, lest the head should fly, a steady and regular fire must be kept up until it boils, after which a little fuel will serve. In about two hours the vapour or spirit being condensed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the shape of a stream, as clear and transparent as crystal ; and it is suffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

The spirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a second distillation, of which I shall presently speak ; but previously thereto, I shall point out some little variation between the practice of the Jamaica distillers and those of the Windward Islands, observable in the first process. This consists chiefly in a more copious use of dunder ||. The following being a

very

† The infusion of hot water will raise, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

§ When the liquor is first set at the beginning of the crop (the house being cold, and the cisterns not saturated) it will not be fit for distillation under ten or twelve days.

|| As the use of dunder is to dissolve the tenacity of the saccharine matter, it should be proportioned not only to the quantity, but also to the *nature* of the sweets. Thus, when the sweets in the fermenting cistern consist of molasses alone,

very general, and, I believe, an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the several ingredients, *viz.*

CHAP.
II.
Dunder

as generally happens after the business of sugar-boiling is finished, when no scummings are to be had, a greater proportion of dunder is necessary; because molasses is a body of greater tenacity than cane-liquor, and is rendered so viscous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the most powerful saline and acid stimulators. For the same reason, at the beginning of the crop, when no molasses is to be had, and the sweets consist of cane-juice or scummings alone, very little dunder is necessary. In such case I should not recommend above 20 per cent. at the utmost. Dunder, in a large quantity, certainly injures the *flavour*, although it may increase the *quantity* of the spirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the distillers in England add many things to the fermenting liquor, or wash, in order to augment the vinosity of the spirit, or give it a particular flavour. He observes, that a little tartar, nitre, or common salt, is sometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their stead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. These are thought to be of great use in the fermenting of solutions of treacle, honey, and the like sweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a small proportion of acid. It would seem, by a note in Dr. Grainger's Poem called the *Sugar Cane*, that a similar practice prevails among the distillers in St. Christopher's; for the author relates, that an addition of sea-water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion he does not say) is a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other things, an aqueous solution of tartar; but I conceive that dunder alone answers every purpose. He likewise recommends to the distiller to introduce into the fermenting cistern a few gallons of the rectified spirit, which he says will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of spirit that would otherwise have arisen from the distillation.—As I have tried none of these experiments, I can say nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe that a small quantity of vegetable ashes, thrown into the rum-still, will be found serviceable. The alkaline salts are supposed to attenuate the spirit and keep back the gross and fetid oil, which

the

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK	Dunder one half, or	-	50 gallons
V.	Sweets 12 per cent.	{	6 gallons
		{	Scummings 36 gallons
		{	(equal to 6 gallons more of melasses)
	Water	-	8 gallons
			100 gallons.

Of this mixture (or *wash*, as it is sometimes called) one thousand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low-wines; and the still may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the melasses at once, which is done soon after the fermentation commences, renders the process safe and expeditious; whereas by charging the melasses at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the process delayed.

Let us now compleat the process according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or vessel, and, as opportunity serves, are conveyed into the second still of six hundred gallons, to undergo a further distillation. The stream begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give, in the course of the day, two hundred and twenty

the distillers call the *faints*; but if used in too great a quantity, they may keep back also a proportion of the fine essential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the most important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is *cleanliness*; for all adventitious or foreign substances destroy or change the peculiar flavour of the spirit. In truth, it should be a constant rule with the manager or distiller to see that the cisterns are scalded, and even cleansed with strong lime-water, each time they are used; not merely on account of the rum, but also because it has frequently happened that the vapour of a foul cistern has instantly killed the first person that has entered it without due precaution.

gallons,

gallons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, CHAP. i. e. of spirit in which olive oil will sink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be so called, is complete. There will remain in the still a considerable quantity of weaker spirit, commonly about seventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thousand two hundred of wash.

By means of the apparatus and process which I have thus described, the Jamaica distiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light (a necessary precaution in this employment) and at a small expence of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica standard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of sugar, is commonly estimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above description is supposed to supply annually one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum, of one hundred and ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogshead of sugar;—and this return, I do believe, is sometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moist lands; but on a general estimate, I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogsheads of sugar, which is in the proportion of about two-thirds rum to the crop of sugar, is nearer the truth *.

The

* This will be better understood by attending to the following particulars:—The general supply of scummings to the still-house is seven gallons out of every 100 gallons of cane-liquor. Supposing, therefore, that 2,000 gallons of cane-

BOOK The reader will please to recollect, that in V. this, and the preceding chapter, the observations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the field, and the subsequent processes of the boiling-house and distillery, have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some selection was necessary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a sugar plantation, with such propriety as to that with which I am myself practically acquainted.—My next enquiries will relate to the particulars of the first cost of this species of property, to the cur-

cane-juice is required for each hogshead of sugar of 16 cwt. the scummings, on a plantation making 200 hogsheads per annum, will be 28,000 gallons, equal to ————— 4,666 gallons of molasses.

Add the molasses from the curing-house, which, if the sugar is of a good quality, will seldom exceed sixty gallons per hogshead ————— 12,000

Total of sweets 16,666 gallons.

This, distilled at and after the rate of 12 per cent. sweets in the fermenting cistern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or 131 puncheons of 110 gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of these circumstances must exist, either the sugar discharges an unusual quantity of molasses, or the boiling-house is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper scumming. This latter circumstance frequently happens.

It should also be observed, that it is the practice of late with many planters, to raise the proof of rum; thus gaining in strength of spirit, what is lost in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the scummings to the clarifiers, instead of sending them to the still-house. This last-mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but is supposed to yield in sugar more than is lost in rum; and if the price of sugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

rent

rent expences attending it, and to the returns C H A P. which may be reasonably expected from a capital thus employed ; and here again my estimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a considerable variation in some of the Windward Islands, I have no doubt. In St. Christopher's, for instance, some of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very best in Jamaica ; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and has other advantages, which probably make the scale even.

C H A P. III.

Capital necessary in the settlement or purchase of a sugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and stock separately considered.—Particulars and cost.—Gross returns from the property.—Annual disbursements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Differences, not commonly attended to, in the mode of estimating the profits of an English estate, and one in the West Indies.—Insurance of West India estates in time of war, and other occasional deductions.—The question, why the cultivation of the Sugar Islands has increased, under so many discouragements, considered and discussed.

BOOK ^{V.} A SUGAR plantation consists of three great parts; the Lands, the Buildings and the Stock: but before I proceed to discriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to observe, that the business of sugar planting is a sort of adventure in which the man that engages, must engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very seldom the possibility of retreat. A British country gentleman, who is content to jog on without risque on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will startle to hear that it requires a capital of no less than thirty thousand pounds sterling to embark in this employment with a fair prospect of advantage. To elucidate this

this position, it must be understood that the annual contingencies of a small or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to those of an estate of three times the magnitude. A property, for instance, producing annually one hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. has occasion for similar white servants, and for buildings and utensils of nearly the same extent and number as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred such hogsheads, with rum in proportion. In speaking of capital, I mean either money, or a solid well-established credit; for there is this essential difference attending loans obtained on landed estates in Great Britain, and those which are advanced on the credit of West Indian plantations, that an English mortgage is a marketable security, which a West Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other persons are ready to advance it: now this seldom happens in regard to property in the West Indies. The credit obtained by the sugar planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the prospect of speedy returns and considerable advantage; but as men in trade seldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which they give is oftentimes suddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to sell his property at much less than half its first cost. The credit therefore of which I speak, considered as a capital, must not only be extensive, but permanent.

Having premised thus much, the application of which will hereafter be seen, I shall employ my present enquiries in ascertaining the fair and well-established prices at which a sugar estate may at this time be purchased or created, and the profits

BOOK profits which may honestly and reasonably be expected from a given capital so employed ; founded on my estimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each : an estate of less magnitude, I conceive, for the reasons before given, to be comparatively a losing concern. Afterwards I shall endeavour to account for the eagerness which has been shewn by many persons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

On a survey of the general run of the sugar estates in Jamaica, it is found that the land in canes commonly constitutes one-third of the plantation ; another third is appropriated to pasture and the cultivation of provisions, such as plantains (a hearty and wholesome food) cocoes, or eddoes, yams, potatoes, cassada, corn, and other vegetable esculents peculiar to the country and climate ; and which, with salted fish, supplied the negroes weekly, and small stock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raising, make their chief support, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reserved in native woods, for the purpose of furnishing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and supplying fire-wood for the boiling and distilling houses, in addition to the cane trash, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not less than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole

whole extent of such a property must be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am persuaded that the sugar plantations in Jamaica making those returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall short of, this estimate ; not, as hath been ignorantly asserted, from a fond and avaricious propensity in the proprietors to engross more land than is necessary ; but because, from the nature of the soil, and rugged surface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is seldom that even three hundred acres of soil in contiguity, fit for the production of sugar, can be procured. A purchaser therefore must take the bad with the good. Nevertheless, as it is my intention to give as precise an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the sugar-planting business, *under the most favourable circumstances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital vested in unproductive woodland, but fix on six hundred acres, as sufficient for all the purposes that have been mentioned ; appropriating one half of the whole, instead of one third, to the culture of the cane.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its situation. In seasonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the sea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchase a quantity of a sugar land sufficient for a good estate, unless at a very high price. On the north side, in a fertile and seasonable parish, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, sell for ten pounds currency per acre, but it was at the distance of ten miles from the sea ; and the purchaser had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniences to which this was subject, would, as lands sell in Jamaica, be well worth, and easily obtain,

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B O O K fourteen pounds currency, or ten pounds sterling V. per acre. Six hundred acres at this price is ~~£.8,400~~ £.8,400 currency. The cost of clearing one half, and planting it in canes, including four clearings, would be £.12 currency per acre, or £.3,600. Clearing and planting 100 acres in provisions, would be £.7 an acre, or £.700; the same for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guiney grafts. Inclosing and fencing the whole would cost, on a moderate estimate, £.700 more.—Total £.14,100 currency, being equal to £.10,071 sterling.

B U I L D I N G S.

The buildings which will be found necessary, on a plantation of the magnitude described, are

1st. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained) the cost of which, considering that Jamaica Currency. a great extent of stone guttering is commonly requisite, may be stated, on a very low estimate, at £.1,000 sterling. In case no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a single mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is sufficient to take off the crop in due time, a most important object, on which the future success of the plantation depends. I allow therefore for a wind-mill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind-mill, a sum equal to the cost of a water-mill, or 1,400

2d. A boiling-house, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and 4 other pans or boilers, including the cost of the same, and other utensils — — 1,000

3d. A

3d. A curing-house, adjoining to the boiling-house, calculated to hold one half the crop, with strong joists of solid timber instead of a floor, having a terraced or boarded platform underneath, leading to a molasses cistern, lined with terras, sufficient to contain 6000 gallons	Jamaica Currency.	CHAP. III.
		800
4th. A distilling-house, 70 feet by 30; the distillery part to contain 2 stills of 1200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate: also a stone tank or cistern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or cisterns, for the dunder and skimmings: also 12 cisterns of solid plank fixed in the earth, of 1200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other necessary apparatus: together also with a rum store under the same roof	1,600	
5th. A dwelling-house for the overseer	600	
6th. Two trash-houses, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation stone, the sides open, the roof supported by stone pillars, and covered by shingles, £.300 each	600	
7th. A hospital for the sick negroes, containing also a room for lying-in women, a room for confining disorderly negroes, a shop for the doctor, and one or more store rooms for securing the plantation utensils and provisions	300	
8th. A mule stable, for 60 mules, with a corn-loft above	150	
9th. Shops for the different tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright and smith	150	
Q2	10th. Sheds	

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK

V.

Jamaica
Currency.

10th. Sheds for the waggons, wains, carts, &c.	—	—	—	50
Add extra expences, such as the cost of the wains, utensils for the smith's shop, household furniture, &c. &c.	—	—	—	350
The total is £.5,000 sterling, being equal to — Currency 7,000	—	—	—	—

S T O C K.

The stock on a plantation of the magnitude described, cannot prudently consist of less than two hundred and fifty negroes, eighty steers, and sixty mules. It is not sufficient to object that two hundred hogsheads of sugar have been produced by the labour of a less number of negroes than is here allowed. I am treating of an estate which produces that quantity *on a medium*; consequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable seasons, the crops will sometimes fall short of, at other times they must greatly exceed the number prescribed; and under these circumstances, I do not believe a plantation will easily be named that possesses (*or employs, in job work and otherwise*) a less number of negroes annually. If such an estate there is, I hesitate not to pronounce that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worse than that which, by over-working the negroes, sacrifices the capital for the sake of a temporary augmented income? —The cost of the stock, therefore, may be stated as follows:

250 Ne-

	Jamaica Currency.	CHAP. III.
250 Negroes, at £.70 each, —	17,500	
80 Steers, at £.15 —	1,200	
60 Mules, at £.28 —	1,680	
		—
Total in currency (equal to £.14,557 sterling) —	£.20,380	—

Let us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica. Currency.
LANDS, — — —	14,100
BUILDINGS, — — —	7,000
STOCK, — — —	20,380
	—
Total in currency, —	41,480

Which is only £.520 short of £.42,000 Jamaica currency, or £.30,000 sterling, the sum first mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of such a property were to sell it by appraisement, the valuation would amount to nearly the sum expended. It would be more adviseable undoubtedly, to purchase a plantation ready settled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inasmuch as the labour and risque of the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but, however this may be, it must be considered as a fixed and well-established fact, that a sugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been supposed, whether acquired by purchase, or by the risque and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably cost (the necessary buildings and stock included) £.30,000 sterling,

BOOK ^{V.} sterling, before any adequate interest can be received from the capital.

The produce of such a plantation has been stated at 200 hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus annis*; the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows :

	Sterling.
200 Hogsheads of sugar, at £.15 ster-	—
ling per hogshead	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, at £.10 ster-	—
ling per puncheon	1,300
	<hr/>
	£.4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the sugar alone, is so much clear profit. The annual disbursements are first to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which supposes they are provided for by the rum. If such indeed were the fact, the capital would yield precisely an annual interest of ten *per cent.*: but a reference to the several items, which I have particularized in a note †, will demonstrate the fallacy of

† ANNUAL SUPPLIES from GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

1st. NEGRO CLOTHING; viz.

1,500 Yards of Oznaburgh cloth, or German linen.

650 Yards of blue bays, or pennitones, for a warm frock for each negro.

350 Yards of striped linseys for the women.

250 Yards of coarse check for shirts for the boilers, tradesmen, domestics, and children.

3 Dozen

of this too common mode of calculation. They C H A P. amount, at a very moderate estimate, (including III.

3 Dozen of coarse blankets for lying-in women, and sick negroes.

18 Dozen of coarse hats.

2d. Tools,

For the carpenters and coopers, to the amount of £.25 ster- ling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling axes.

3d. MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

160,000 Nails of different sizes.

2,500 Puncheon rivets.

6 Cattle chains.

6 Dozen of hoes.

6 Dozen of bills.

20 Dozen of small clasp knives for the negroes.

4 Dozen of ox bows.

50 Bundles of iron hoops.

2 Sets of puncheon truss hoops.

2 Sets of hoghead ditto.

80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.

2 Barrels of tar.

3 Boxes of short tobacco pipes for the negroes.

180 Bundles of wood hoops.

2 Sheets of lead.

6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.

6 Ditto skimmers }

8 Dozen of small iron pots for the negroes.

2 Puncheons of Bristol lime for temper.

4 Grindstones.

PROVISIONS, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

80 Barrels of herrings, or salted cod equal thereto,

6 Barrels of salted beef.

2 Barrels of salted pork.

4 Firkins of salted butter.

2 Boxes of soap.

2 Boxes of candles.

2 Hogsheads of salt.

6 Barrels of flour.

6 Kegs of pease.

3 Jugs of groats.

freight,

~~BOOK~~ freight, charges and merchants commissions, and
 v. adding a proportional part of the cost of many
 expensive articles, such as coppers, stills, wain-
 tyre, grating-bars, &c. which would perhaps be
 wanted once in five years) to the sum of £.850
 sterling. To this sum are to be added the follow-
 ing very heavy

CHARGES *within the Island*; viz.

	Currency.
Overseer's or manager's salary	— 200
Distiller's ditto	— 70
Two other white servants, £.60 each	120
A white carpenter's wages	— 100
Maintenance of five white servants, exclusive of their allowance of salted provisions, £.40 each	— 200
Medical care of the negroes, (at 6s. <i>per annum</i> for each negro) and <i>extra</i> cases, which are paid for sepa- rately	— 100
Millwright's, coppersmith's, plumb- er's, and smith's bills, annually	250
Colonial taxes, public and parochial	200
Annual supply of mules and steers	300
Wharfage and storage of goods land- ed and shipped	— 100
American staves and heading, for hogsheads and puncheons,	— 150
A variety of small occasional supplies of different kinds, supposed	— 50
Equal to £.1,300 sterling; being in currency	£. 1,840

The

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is £.2,150 sterling, which is precisely one half the gross returns; leaving the other moiety, or £.2,150 sterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being seven *per cent.* on his capital, and £.50 over, without charging, however, a shilling for making good the decrease of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and supposing too, that the proprietor resides on the spot; for if he is absent, he is subject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of six pounds *per cent.* on the gross value of his sugar and rum, for legal commissions to his agent.—With these, and other drawbacks (to say nothing of the devastations which are sometimes occasioned by fires and hurricanes, destroying in a few hours the labour of years) it is not wonderful that the profits should frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather, that a sugar estate, with all its boasted advantages, should sometimes prove a millstone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to destruction*!

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be such as to exempt him from most of the losses and calamities that have been enumerated, it must nevertheless be remembered, that

* In Jamaica, the usual mode of calculating, in a general way, the average profits of a sugar estate, is to allow £.10 sterling per annum for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation; according to which, Mr. Beckford's income, arising from 2,533 negroes, ought to be £.25,330 sterling. I doubt, however, as he does not reside in the island, if he has received, on an average of ten years together, any thing near that sum; but even this is but $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on his capital, which is £.380,000; negroes being one-third of the property, and are usually valued at £.50 sterling round.

the

BOOK the sugar planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contrasting the profits of a West Indian plantation with those of a landed estate in Great Britain, this circumstance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an English proprietor, in stating the income which he receives from his capital, includes not in his estimate the profits made by his tenants. These constitute a distinct object, and are usually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a sugar plantation yielding double the profit to the planter; and possesses besides, all that stability, certainty, and security, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An English gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than such as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate, and it is but justice to him to say, that, so long as the stock of his tenant is found a sufficient security for his rent, he commonly displays the most perfect philosophy and composure under the poor tenant's misfortunes. Nor is he under the disagreeable necessity in time of war, of paying large premiums for insuring his estate from capture by a foreign enemy.—This is another tax, which the unfortunate West Indian, resident in Great Britain, must add to his expences; or submit to the disagreeable alternative of passing many an uneasy day and sleepless night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his possessions, and the future subsistence of his family;—harrassed, perhaps, at the same time, by creditors whose importunity increases as their security becomes endangered.

To

To this account of the taxes, contingencies, **C H A P.** and impositions laid on the sugar planter, must **III.** likewise be added *some part, at least, of the high* **—** duties on his produce, which swell the revenues of Great Britain. The general opinion, I well know, considers it as a certain and established fact, that *all* these duties fall ultimately on the consumer. I shall hereafter point out, and I trust with such precision and certainty as will admit of no dispute, in what cases they fall on the consumer, and in what cases on the planter. No question has, I think, been more strangely misunderstood than this, and yet none, in my opinion, is susceptible of clearer illustration; but as the consideration of this matter belongs more properly to the commercial system established between Great Britain and her sugar colonies, it is unnecessary at this time to enter on the investigation; my present intention being only to apprise the reader, that the duties payable in the mother country, on the produce of the West Indies, are not wholly to be overlooked, in a fair estimate of the expences to which the planter is liable.

But there is a question, naturally arising from the premises, to which it is proper that I should, in this, place, give an answer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and considering withal, that the returns are in general but small, and at best uncertain, how has it happened that the sugar islands have been so rapidly settled, and many a great estate purchased in the mother country, from the profits that have accrued from their cultivation? It were to be wished that those who make such enquiries would enquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy persons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation

BOOKtion of these islands, without possessing any adequate means to support them in such great undertakings? On the failure of some of these unfortunate men, vast estates have indeed been raised by persons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumstance, behold a sugar planter struggling in distress, with the same emotions as are felt by the Cornish peasants in contemplating a shipwreck on the coast, and hasten with equal rapaciousness to participate in the spoil. Like them too, they sometimes hold out false lights to lead the unwary adventurer to destruction; more especially if he has any thing considerable of his own to set out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a skilful practitioner well knows where to stop: he is aware what very large sums must be expended in the purchase of the freehold, and in the first operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furnished; but the time soon arrives when a further advance is requisite to give life and activity to the system, by the addition of the negroes and the stock. Now then is the moment for oppression, aided by the letter of the law, and the process of office, to reap a golden harvest. If the property answers expectation, and the lands promise great returns, the sagacious creditor, instead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the best of his way by his own exertions, pleads a sudden and unexpected emergency; and insists on immediate re-payment of the sum already lent. The law, on this occasion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable.

A sale

A sale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but C H A P. the creditor himself. Ready money is required in III. payment, and every one sees that a further sum will be wanting to make the estate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wish, efficaciously to assist the devoted victim.— Thus, the creditor gets the estate at his own price, commonly for his first advance, while the miserable debtor has reason to thank his stars if, consoling himself with only the loss of his own original capital, and his labour for a series of years, he escapes a prison for life.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts of law, in all or most of our islands (Jamaica especially) and the recollection of every inhabitant, furnish incontestable proof. At the same time it cannot justly be denied that there are creditors, especially among the British merchants, of a very different character from those that have been described, who, having advanced their money to resident planters, not in the view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and necessities, but solely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much against their inclination, to become planters themselves; being obliged to receive unprofitable West Indian estates in payment, or lose their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner, which are a burthen instead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up solely in the hope that favourable crops, and an advance in the prices of West Indian produce, may, some time or other, invite purchasers.— Thus oppression in one class of creditors, and gross injustice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the
risques

BOOK risques and losses are great, the gains are sometimes commensurate ; for sugar estates there are, undoubtedly, from which, instead of the returns that I have estimated as the average interest on the capital, nearly double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true, that such instances are extremely rare ; but perhaps to that very circumstance, which to a philosopher, speculating in his closet, would seem sufficient to deter a wise man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing that so much money has been expended in it : I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of sugar varies occasionally to so great a degree as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten shillings sterling in the hundred weight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being precisely the same on Muscovado sugar, of whatever quality. Thus fine sugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no less than £.1,500 sterling on 200 hogsheads of the usual magnitude, beyond what the same number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the same market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to soil and seasons in the West Indies, or to the state of the British market, is to contradict common observation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on skill in the manufacture ; and, the process being apparently simple, the beholder (from a propensity natural to the busy and inquisitive part of mankind) feels an almost irresistible propensity to engage in it. In this, therefore, as in all other enterprises, whose success depends in any degree on human sagacity and prudence, though perhaps not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every sanguine adventurer takes for granted that he shall

shall be that *one*. Thus his system of life becomes C H A P. a course of experiments, and, if ruin should be III. the consequence of his rashness, he imputes his misfortunes to any cause, rather than to his own want of capacity or foresight.

That the reasons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in answer to the question that has been stated, I presume not to affirm. Other causes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be assigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too striking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

Having now, I believe, sufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of sugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteness (tedious perhaps but) suited, as I conceive, to the importance of the subject, the first cost, and current contingencies attending the establishment and profitable maintenance of a sugar plantation, together with the risque and gains eventually arising from this species of property, I shall proceed, in the following chapter, to furnish my readers with such information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor staples, especially those important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with sugar and rum, principally constitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of shipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of Great Britain at the beginning of the present century*.

* The following table of the prices of Muscovado sugar in the London market, at different periods, may be gratifying to curiosity, and of use in illustrating some of the preceding observations.

Years.	Lowest Price.		Highest.	
	from	Shillings.	to	Shillings Sterling.
1760	—	32	—	47
1761	—	32	—	50
				1762

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BOOK V.	Years.	from	Lowest Price. Shillings.	to	Highest. Shillings Sterling.
	1762	—	28	—	49
	1763	—	25	—	37
	1764	—	27	—	40
	1765	—	32	—	44
	1766	—	29	—	42
	1767	—	33	—	42
	1768	—	32	—	41
	1769	—	33	—	43
	1770	—	31	—	43
	1771	—	32	—	44
	1772	—	29	—	43
	1773	—	28	—	45
	1774	—	27	—	44
	1775	—	25	—	39
	1776	—	29	—	47
	1777	—	39	—	65
	1778	—	45	—	68
	1779	—	50	—	59
	1780	—	45	—	59
	1781	—	56	—	73
	1782	—	40	—	73
	1783	—	28	—	45
	1784	—	26	—	46
	1785	—	35	—	45
	1786	—	40	—	56
	1787	—	41	—	52

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON, its growth and various species.—Mode of cultivation and risques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.—INDIGO, its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the first Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that island.—COFFEE, whether that of the West Indies equal to the Mocha?—Situation and soil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was subject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Estimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.—CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES and PIMENTO; brief account of each.

C O T T O N.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or substance ^{BOOK} ~~BOOK~~ ^{V.} called cotton, is the spontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America; and may justly be comprehended among the most valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, superintending and providing for the necessities of man.

The cotton-wool which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a species in the West Indies, called silk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) consists of two distinct kinds, known to the

BOOK planters by the names of GREEN-SEED COTTON, V. and SHRUB COTTON; and these again have subordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greatest advantage.

Green-seed cotton is of two species; of one of which the wool is so firmly attached to the seed, that no method has hitherto been found of separating them, except by the hand; an operation so tedious and troublesome, that the value of the commodity is not equal to the pains that are requisite in preparing it for market. This sort therefore is at present cultivated principally for supplying wick for the lamps that are used in sugar-boiling and for domestic purposes; but the staple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtless be a valuable acquisition to the muslin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it easily from the seed.

The other sort has larger seeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineness; though much finer than the cotton-wool in general cultivation; and it is easily separated from the seed by the common method, hereafter to be described. I have been told that this species of the green-seed cotton is not sufficiently known to the planters in general, (being usually confounded with the former) or that probably it would be in high estimation.

Both the species above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early stage, when they are mere shrubs, will, if suffered to spread, grow into trees of considerable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the season, without any kind of cultivation. The blossoms put forth in

In succession from October to January, and the C H A P: pods begin to open fit for gathering from Fe- IV.
bruary to June. I come now to the

Shrub Cotton, properly so called. The shrub itself very nearly resembles an European Corinth bush, and may be subdivided into several varieties, all of which however very nearly resemble each other *. These varieties (such of them at least as have come to my knowledge) are

1st, The *Common Jamaica*; the seeds of which are oblong, perfectly smooth, and have no beard at the smaller end. The staple is coarse, but strong. Its greatest defect is that the seeds are so brittle that it is scarce possible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the lowest-priced cotton at the British market. Such however is the obstinacy of habit, that few of the British cotton planters give themselves the trouble to select, or seem indeed to wish for a better sort.

2d, *Brown Bearded*.—This is generally cultivated with the species last mentioned, but the staple is somewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The shrub gives likewise a better ratoon. It is therefore the interest of the cotton planter to

* The flowers are composed of five large yellow leaves, each stained at the bottom with a purple spot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The pistil is strong and large, surrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous dust, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the pistil. This is likewise surrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capsular pod, supported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The inclosed pod opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, discovering the cotton in as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In these locks are interspersed the seeds, which are commonly small and black.

BOOK cultivate it separately. The only disadvantage attending it is, that it is not so easily detached from the seed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds less in his day's work.

3d, *Nankeen*.—This differs but little in the seeds or otherwise from the species last mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called Nankeen. It is not so much in demand as the white.

4th, *French* or *Small-seed*, with a whitish beard. This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hispaniola. Its staple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three species last mentioned, as the shrub is supposed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is less hardy than either.

5th, *Kidney Cotton*, so called from the seeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other sorts they are separated. It is likewise called *Chain Cotton*, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Brasil.—The staple is good, the pod large, and the produce considerable. A single negro may clear with ease sixty-five pounds in a day, besides which, it leaves the seeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clear from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the highest degree, to mix this species with any other.

On the whole, the most profitable sorts for general cultivation seem to be, the second of the Green-seed; the French or Small-seed, and the Brasilian. The mode of culture is the same with all the different species, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flourish in the driest and most rocky soils, provided such lands have not been exhausted by former cultivation. Dryness, both in respect of the soil and atmosphere,

atmosphere, is indeed essentially necessary in all its C H A P. stages ; for if the land is moist, the plant expends itself in branches and leaves, and if the rains are heavy, either when the plant is in blossom or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is lost. Perhaps however these observations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other.

The plant is raised from the seed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances ; and the season for putting the seed into the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is usually done in ranks or rows, leaving a space between each, of six or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the seeds into each hole, because some of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young sprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of slow growth for the first six weeks, at which period it is necessary to clean the ground and draw out the supernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the strongest in each hole. One plant alone would be sufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity ; but many of the tender sprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a second time ; and both the stem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd* ; an inch (or more if the plants are luxuriant) being broke off from the end of each shoot ; which is done in order to make the stems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over luxuriant, is sometimes performed a second, and even a third time.

At

BOOK At the end of five months, the plant begins to blossom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more, the pod is formed. From the seventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in succession; when they burst open in three partitions, displaying their white and glossy down to the sight. The wool is now gathered, the seeds being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine resembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is composed of two small rollers placed close and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in opposite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot *. The cotton being put by the hand to these rollers as they move round, readily passes between them, leaving the seeds, which are too large for the interspace, behind. The wool is afterwards hand picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken seeds, and wool which has been stained and damaged in the pod †. It is then packed into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and sent to market.

The finest-grained and most perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the English market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demarara and Surinam, and of the island of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool

* It is a very slight and simple instrument, and costs only from two to three guineas.

† The cotton manufactory of England, since the year 1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large spinning machines which are worked by water. These require the cleanest cotton, as the smallest particle of a broken seed breaks the thread in this mode of spinning.

of

of all kinds found a ready sale at the following C H A P. IV.

		s. d.
Berbice	- -	2 1 per lb.
Demerara	- -	1 11 to 2s. 1d.
Surinam	- -	2 —
Cayenne	- -	2 —
St. Domingo	-	1 10
Tobago	- -	1 9
Jamaica	- -	1 7

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the same; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 per cent. in favour of the former; a circumstance which alone should convince the most bigotted planter of the British West Indies that, if he wishes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better species of cotton, at least of a sort more easily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indispensably requisite.

I shall now bring into one point of view the several particulars attending the first cost and settlement of a plantation in this sort of husbandry, and the returns which may reasonably be expected from a small capital thus employed. I fix on a small capital; because I conceive that a cotton plantation may be established on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the interest of the community that men of small fortunes should be instructed how to employ their time and labours to the best advantage; since it is to such men chiefly that the West Indies are to look for safety in the hour of danger.

It is presumed that land proper for the growth of cotton, situated near the sea, may be purchased, in many parts of the West Indies (Jamaica especially.)

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK (dally) at £. 5 Jamaica currency per acre; and, as V. it is prudent in most cases to change the soil after the third crop, by replanting fresh land *, I will allot fifty acres for the first purchase, in order that the planter may have room for that purpose. Supposing therefore that one-half only is planted in cotton at the same time, the capital will be invested as follows:

	£. s. d.
£. 5 currency per acre	250 — —
Expence of cleaning, fencing and planting 25 acres, at £. 7 per acre	175 — —
Purchase of twelve negroes, at £. 70 each	840 — —
	<hr/>
One year's interest, at 6 per cent.	1,265 — —
One year's maintenance, cloth- ing, and medical care of the negroes	75 18 —
	<hr/>
Total expenditure in Jamaica currency (equal to £. 1,040 sterling)	1,20 — —
	<hr/>
	1,460 18 —

* If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are sometimes gathered from the same original plants; after which, instead of replanting, it is not uncommon to cut the cotton bushes down, to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the stems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the same manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly saved by this practice, but, in nine cases out of ten, it will be found more profitable to resort to fresh land, every third or fourth year. I consider, at the same time, land to be fresh enough which has lain fallow, or been used in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar sort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton-plants.

The

The returns are now to be considered:—In CHAP. Jamaica it is commonly reckoned that one acre IV. of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in some years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any considerable number of successive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama islands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787 (all which years were considered as favourable), the produce of the cotton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds per acre; viz.

In 1785 - 2,476 } acres { 2,480 } Cwt. of
1786 - 3,050 } produced { 3,000 } Cotton.
1787 - 4,500 } { 4,380 }

The price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the same, viz. 1s. 3d. sterling *per* pound.—Allowing therefore the average produce *per* acre to be one hundred weight, the returns are these; viz.

	Sterling.
25 cwt. at 1s. 3d. sterling per pound	£. 175
Deduct incidental expences, as	
materials for bagging, colonial	25
taxes, &c. *	- - - - -

Remains in sterling money 150

Which gives an interest of upwards of fourteen per cent. on the capital; arising too from the lowest-priced cotton. If the same calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two shillings *per* pound

* The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the first year, is not charged, because it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being sufficient to find them in full employment, they may raise corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than sufficient to pay for their clothing and support. It is usual even to raise corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton bushes.

value

BOOK value (the present price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo) the profit on the capital is twenty-four per cent.

From this display, the rapid progress which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain some circumstances, of a less favourable nature, to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the most precarious. In its first stage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the second; it is sometimes withered by the blast; and rains frequently destroy it both in the blossom and the pod. The Bahama islands afforded a melancholy instance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788; no less than 280 tons, on a moderate estimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March, in that year. After this, the reader will hardly suspect me of having rated the average produce of this plant, for a series of years, too low.

With every disadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the British manufactories, increases with such rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable; the British dominions not supplying, at present, more than one-sixth part of the home demand. If, after a careful selection and trials of the different species of seeds already in our possession, the cotton-wool of the British West Indies shall still be found inferior to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better sort. It is evident, that the French cotton loses its superiority in our islands, by being sown promiscuously with an inferior species.

I shall

WEST INDIES.

267

I shall conclude my account of cotton, with CHAP. presenting to my readers the following tables, IV. drawn from authentic sources ; which cannot fail to furnish abundant encouragement for speculation and adventure.

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, in British Ships.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	1,135,750
1785	—	—	1,398,500
1786	—	—	1,346,386
1787	—	—	1,158,000

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, under the Freeport Act.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	2,169,000
1785	—	—	1,573,280
1786	—	—	1,962,500
1787	—	—	1,943,000

An Account of Cotton-wool, British and Foreign, imported from the British West Indies into Great Britain.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	6,893,959
1785	—	—	8,204,611
1786	—	—	7,830,734
1787	—	—	9,396,921

An

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK *An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great
V. Britain, from all Parts.*

Year.	lbs.	Supposed Value in Manufactures.
1784	11,280,238	£.3,950,000 Sterling.
1785	17,992,888	6,000,000
1786	19,151,867	6,500,000
1787	22,600,000	7,500,000

*Machinery established in Great Britain (1787) for
the Cotton Manufactory.*

143 Water-mills, which cost	—	£.715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for spinning the shute, for the twisted yarn spun by the water-mills (in- cluding buildings and auxiliary machinery)	—	285,000
Total	—	£.1,000,000

The water-mills work 286,000 spindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of spindles 1,951,100.—And it has been asserted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demarara, has been spun into 356 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; so that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

On the whole it is computed that no less than six hundred thousand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great staple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a two-fold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent inquirer, there are from ten to twelve millions of sheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to three millions; the expence of manufacturing

facturing this is probably nine millions, and the C H A P. total value twelve millions. In reference to the IV. number of persons who are maintained by this manufacture, there are probably about a million.

I N D I G O.

THE plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo (probably so named from India, where it was first known to be cultivated) grows spontaneously in all the West Indies. In the British Sugar Islands, they reckon three distinct species: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The first is said to be the hardiest, and the dye extracted from it is supposed to be of the best quality, both in colour and closeness of grain; but one of the other two species is commonly preferred by the planter, as yielding a greater return; and of those, the French surpasses the Guatimala in quantity; but yields to it in fineness of grain and beauty of colour.

That the richest soil produces the most luxuriant plant, and that good seasons accelerate its growth, cannot, I think, be doubted; but, observing its long tap-root, and spontaneous growth, in almost every dry and barren savannah, I am convinced it will thrive on soils that are fit for nothing else. The longest dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if suffered to remain long on the plant:

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of which, the seeds are strewed by the

BOOK the hand, and covered lightly with mold ; but as
V. the plants shoot, the field must be frequently
weeded and kept constantly clean, until they rise
and spread sufficiently to cover the ground. A
bushel of seeds is sufficient for four or five acres
of land.

In the West Indies, the best season for planting
is supposed to be the month of March, but the
plant will flourish at any other period ; and, if sown
in new land, will come to full blossom (and it is
then in perfection) in about three calendar months.
In the southern provinces of America, the season
for planting depends greatly on the nature of the
spring, which varies much in those countries. If
the plants appear above ground by the first day
of March, they will be fit for cutting about the
twentieth of August ; and are sometimes equal to
the best in the West Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the
two countries ; that in the West Indies, in season-
able situations, they have sometimes four cuttings
in the year from the same roots, whereas in North
America they have never more than two, and not
often more than one. The plant is a child of the
sun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great
advantage, no where but within the tropics.

But that sun which thus improves and invigo-
rates the plant, propagates at the same time an
insect destructive to it. This is a species of grub
or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the
leaves, and never fails, in the West Indies, to dis-
appoint the planter's expectations the second year
upon the same land : the only remedy is to change
the soil every year. The want of due attention to
this important circumstance, has probably been
one of the causes that so many persons have failed
of late years in their attempts to revive the cul-
ture of this valuable commodity.

If

If this destructive pest be happily prevented, or C H A P. IV. greatly mitigated, the produce *per acre* of the first cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck*; or about sixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatimala. The produce in North America is sometimes nearly as much; but when Farenheit's thermometer falls to 60° , the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity; a greater heat being absolutely necessary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the subsequent cuttings somewhat diminishes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. per acre of the second quality, may be expected annually from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are sufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, besides doing other occasional work, sufficient to reimburse the expences of their maintenance and clothing.

The process for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two cisterns, which are placed like two steps, the one ascending to the other. The highest (which is also the longest) is called the *steerer*; and its dimensions are about sixteen feet square, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for discharging the fluid into the second, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet square, and four and a half in depth. Cisterns of these dimensions, are proper for about seven acres of the plant: but if stone work cannot easily be erected for want of materials, vats of strong timber, well secured from leakage, will answer as well.

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or sickles, a few inches above the root, and placed by *strata* in the steerer, until it is about three parts full.—

They

BOOK V. They are then strongly pressed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this state it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted: but the utmost attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too soon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occasion putrefaction, by which all the dye is destroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *desideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpose, were made some years ago in the island of Hispaniola, under the sanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and instructions (which were said to be practised with great success by Messrs. Dandale and Mongon, indigo planters in that island) were published by authority, to this effect:

“ After the indigo has been steeped in the cistern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few strokes upon white paper. The first will probably be high coloured, in which case the indigo is not sufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loses its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation.”

It is astonishing that an experiment so simple in itself, if it answers, should have been for so many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confess, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myself somewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method,

thod, which I give on the authority of Mr. Ledi- C H A P.
ard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater IV.
certainty:

“ Let a small hole be made in the steeper, six or eight inches from the bottom, exclusive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewise be stopped with a plug, yet not so firmly but that a small stream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been steeped some hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the cistern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperish colour. This copperish hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually ascend upwards to the plug, and when that circumstance is perceived, it is proper to stop the fermentation.

“ During the progres of this part of the busi-
ness, particular attention should be paid to the
smell of the liquor which weeps from the aper-
ture; for should it discover any sourness, it will
be necessary to let the fermented liquor run imme-
diately into the battery, and lime water of suffi-
cient strength must be added to it, till it has lost
its sourness. As it is running off, it will appear
green, mixed with a bright yellow or straw-co-
lour, but in the battery it will be of a most beau-
tiful green.”

The tincture being thus discharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes in the water. This was formerly done in Jāmaicā with manual labour, by means of paddles, and, in the French islands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to long poles;—but far mote convenient machines are now constructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horse or a mule. When the fluid has, by

BOOK such means, been well churned for the space of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a strong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a separation, but likewise to fix the colour and preserve it from putrefaction. "But the planters (as Brown observes) must carefully distinguish the different stages of this part of the operation also, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain passes gradually from a greenish to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is sufficiently worked; too small a degree of agitation leaving the Indigo green and coarse; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almost black."

The liquor being properly and sufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undisturbed until the flakes or *floculae* settle at the bottom; when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the Indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little square boxes or moulds, and suffered to dry gradually in the shade; and this finishes the manufacture.

To what has been said above of the nature of the plant, suiting itself to every soil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will seem but little cause for wonder at the splendid accounts which are transmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the first Indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be 300 lbs. and the price no more than 4s. sterling per pound, the gross profits of twenty acres will be £. 1,200, produced by the labour of only sixteen negroes, and on a capital in land and buildings, scarce deserving consideration.

Such,

Such, without doubt, will be the reader's first ^{C H A P.} reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden ^{IV.} hopes which speculations like these have raised in the minds of thousands, have vanished on actual experiment, like the visions of the morning. I think I have myself, in the course of twenty years residence in the West Indies, known at least twenty persons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was situated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined cistern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foresight and property. That they failed is certain, but of the causes of their failure, I confess I can give no satisfactory account. I was told that disappointment trod close at their heels at every step. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too soon. Now again, the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To these inconveniences, for which practice would doubtless have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude. The mortality of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumstance, that, as I am informed both by the French and English planters, constantly attends the process) the failure of the seasons and the ravages of the worm;—these, or some of these evils, drove them at length to other pursuits, where industry might find a surer recompence.

Their history, however, furnishes a new illustration to a very trite but important remark, that a manufacture, once destroyed, scarce ever takes root again in the same country. Of the causes from which the general culture and manufacture of Indigo, was relinquished in Jamaica, enough

BOOK has been said by other writers: yet the same arguments which induced the British Government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it funk, are still urged in the case of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, till the same fate attends many of them as attended Indigo. Of the monstrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article so essentially necessary to the British woollen manufactory, (putting colonial considerations out of the question) the Mother Country is, I believe, at length sufficiently convinced, the quantity of Indigo annually imported into Great Britain, from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and half of pounds, of which five parts in seven are purchased with ready money of strangers and rivals!

C O F F E E.

So many treatises have been written on the history of coffee; its introduction into the West Indies has been so fully traced by some writers, and its properties so ably investigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moseley) as hardly to leave me the possibility of offering any thing new on those subjects. The few observations therefore which I shall present to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and these being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford some useful information.

The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the West Indian to that of Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the public are amused on this subject, arise wholly from affectation,

affection, I have not a doubt. At the same time, C H A P. it must be admitted that the charge is not wholly without foundation, inasmuch as the West Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the West Indies so bigotted to his own possessions, as wholly to deny.

But the notion that the coffee itself is naturally inferior to that of the East, as being the production of a coarser and less valuable species of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circumstance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from the West Indies, and raised in English hot-houses, coffee berries have been produced which, at a proper age, were found to surpass the very best Mocha that could be procured in Great Britain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the soil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque, and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flourishes most on a sandy soil, or on mountainous slopes, which give an easy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of choosing similar situations in the West Indies (if a small berry, best suited for the English market, is expected) is justified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A rich deep soil, frequently meliorated by showers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans, which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is singular, however, that the North Americans prefer this sort to any other, and, as they have hitherto been the best customers at the West Indian markets, the planters naturally enough have applied

BOOK plied their labours to that cultivation which turned
V. to the best account.

Happily for the coffee planters of the British West Indies, the English market, by a prudent concession of Government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and excise on the importation and consumption of British plantation coffee in Great Britain were no less than 480 *per cent.* on its then marketable value. Under such exactions, its cultivation in our sugar islands must (but for the American market) have shared the same fate as that of Indigo. The great and important reduction of one shilling a pound from the excise duties, created an immediate and wonderful change; and while it promoted the interest of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the state; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increasing the sum total of the duties from £. 2,869 10s. 10*½*d. to £. 7,200 15s. 9d.; an important proof, among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpose!

As the British demand has thus increased, so, on the other hand, the American has declined, having, as I conceive, been transferred in a great measure to the foreign islands. It is now therefore become the interest of the planter to change his system, by suiting the nature of his commodity to the taste of his new customers.

This, it is true, is not within the power of every man, whose plantation is already settled, to accomplish; but assuredly it is a very important object to such persons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation, (in a country, where every species of soil, and choice of situation, may be found) to know beforehand

forhand how to employ their money and labour C H A P.
to the greatest advantage. I V,

Coffee indeed will thrive in every soil in the West Indies; a cold stiff clay, and a shallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the leaves turn yellow, and the trees perish, or produce nothing; but the best and highest-flavoured fruit is unquestionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a sandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almost every island of the West Indies, Jamaica especially. Frequent showers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and perish.

If the land be fresh and naturally good, coffee plants may be set out at all seasons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any situation, provided it be screened from the north winds, which often destroy the blossom; and sometimes in the after part of the year, when those winds prevail most, entirely strip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blasting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The usual mode of planting is, to line out the land into squares of eight feet; in other words, to sow the seeds, or set out the young plants, eight feet distant from each other on all sides, which gives six hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are easily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be set out are generally selected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the surface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire as possible. The holes in which they are set, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the stem and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the surface.

But,

BOOK But, although eight feet be the usual distance of
V. setting out the plants in all soils, it is frequently
found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow
to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, so
closely intermingled together, as to impede the
free passage of the air: In such cases it is thought
adviseable to cut down every second row, within
ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well
moulding the stumps, they will furnish a succession
of healthy young trees, while the rows which are
left will bear much better for the room which is
given them. Old plantations (or *walks*, as they
are called) cut down in this manner, not dug
up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the
second year; and the operation may be frequently
repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the gene-
ral and most approved system is to keep the trees
perfectly clear of suckers, and to rear one stem
only, from one root. If therefore a healthy
shoot springs near the ground, all the original
plant is cut off close above it, by which means,
when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well
covered. At the height of five or six feet, which
the plants generally attain the third year, the trees
are topped. At this height, a single stem gives
from thirty-six to forty-two bearing branches, and
the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing
but those branches.

From what has been said concerning the effect
of a difference of seasons, it must be difficult to
fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation
by the acre. In rich and spungy soils a single tree
has been known to yield from six to eight
pounds of coffee: I mean when pulped and dried.
In a different situation, a pound and a quarter
from each tree, on an average, is great yielding;
but then the coffee is infinitely better in point of
flavour.

flavour. The following is, I believe, on a medium, as accurate a calculation as the subject will admit. Coffee trees raised from old roots, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the second year from the new growth 300 pounds weight per acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raised from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting; when they will yield very little; the fourth year, about 700 pounds. The average annual produce per acre after that period, if the walk is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds; and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

We are now come to the most important business of the coffee planter, *i. e.* the gathering in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia, according to Le Roque, is as follows:—"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they spread cloths under the trees; which they shake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards spread upon mats and exposed to the sun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a considerable time; after which, the beans are extricated from its outward incumbrance by the pressure of a large and heavy stone roller, when they are again dried in the sun; for the planters consider, that, unless coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for sale."

It cannot be denied that this simple method must be infinitely superior to any other for preserving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the British

BOOK British market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which so tedious a method would necessarily require. The usual practice in the British West Indies is as follows :—

As soon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this business are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occasionally into a basket, and if he be industrious, he may pick three bushels in the day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too fast, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that case be mixed with the ripe. The usual practice is to pick the trees at three different stages of ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, will give about one thousand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in use of curing or drying the bean : The one is, to spread the fresh coffee in the sun, in layers about five inches deep, on a sloping terras, or platform of boards ; with the pulp on the berry, which in a few days ferments and discharges itself in a strong acidulous moisture, and in this state the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be described, or frequently by pounding them with pestles in troughs or large wooden mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four per cent. heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to pulp it immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done by means of a pulping mill, consisting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches

inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a CHAP. crank or handle, and acts against a moveable IV. breast-board, which being fitted close to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from passing whole. The mill is fed by a sloping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical sliding board. By this simple machine a negro will pulp a bushel in a minute. The pulp, and the bean (in its parchment skin) fall promiscuously together. The whole is then washed in wire sieves, to separate the pulp from the seeds, and these are immediately spread open to the sun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the subject of these two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the most profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the best flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might easily be done at the expence of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the test of good coffee, is considered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been sufficiently cured. From both methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful assistance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have described the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment skin, or membrane which immediately envelops the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will also separate, at the same time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted)

BOOK adopted) much more expeditiously than the pestle
V. and mortar.

The grinding mill consists of a perpendicular axis, surrounded at some distance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the surface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or sweeps, tenanted into the axis, and stretching some feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of considerable weight, moving round in the trough, bruise the skins of the coffee, so as to render them separable by the fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears sufficiently bruised, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee from the chaff, and the seeds remaining unground are separated by sieves, and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is still another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of stoves. But it is practised by very few planters; it requiring an expensive apparatus in the first place, and in the second, it is said that the smoke of the fire gives a disagreeable smell and taste to the berry. I know not if this assertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the smell or taste of any thing near it, sooner than coffee.

For the same reason it is a matter of great consequence that proper care should be taken, in shipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ship where it may receive the effluvia of

of other freight. "Coffee berries (says Dr. C H A P. Moseley) are remarkably disposed to imbibe ex- IV.
halations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and disagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a short time so impregnate the berries, as to injure the taste in a high degree, and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ship from India, some years since, spoiled a whole cargo of coffee."

The few preceding observations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry. I shall conclude the subject by offering a short estimate of the expences and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of industry, and of course to the increase of white population in the West Indian islands, than that of any other of their staple commodities; its produce being more equal and certain, than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more considerable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if such were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the British West Indies. This objection has been anticipated and answered by what has been related of the heavy excise duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To say (as is commonly said in the case of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the consumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in consequence of the duties, becomes so high as that the consumer ceases to purchase, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator, as if they fell immediately on himself. Nothing more clearly demonstrates that the cultivation

BOOK tivation of this article was greatly affected by the
 V. British duties, than the comparative quantities
 imported into France and England; the whole
 annual import into Great Britain, on an average
 of five years, (1783 to 1787) not exceeding five
 millions six hundred thousand pounds weight;
 whereas the island of Hispaniola alone has produc-
 ed an annual supply of seventy million of pounds
 and upwards.

It is likewise apparent, that since the reduc-
 tion of the duties in 1783; the cultivation of cof-
 fee in the British West Indies, in Jamaica espe-
 cially, has made a more rapid progress than in
 thirty years preceding. Yet (as Dr. Moseley has
 observed) even the present duty of six-pence per
 pound is too high to admit the general use of
 this fragrant beverage among all classes of people.
 What then must be thought of the former exac-
 tion of three times that duty, which continued
 for fifty-one years? So little has the science of
 colonial commerce been understood or adverted
 to!

*Estimate of the Expence and Return of a Coffee
 Plantation in the Mountains of Jamaica, four-
 teen miles from the sea, calculated in the cur-
 rency of that island, being forty per cent. worse
 than sterling; viz.*

First cost of 300 acres of moun- tain land, of which one-half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at £.3 per acre	£.	s.	d.
	900	—	—
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at £.70 per head	—	—	7,000
Ditto, of 20 mules, at £.28	560	—	—
			Buildings

	£. s. d.	C H A P.
	IV.	
Buildings and utensils, mills and negro tools	— — —	2,000 — — —
Expence of maintaining the negroes the first year, before provisions can be raised (exclusive of other annual expences charged below) £.5 each	— — —	500 — — —
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,960 — —	
Compound interest for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 per cent.	2,093 — —	
	<hr/>	
	£.13,053 — —	

ANNUAL EXPENCES, *viz.*

White overseer and maintenance	—	200
One other white servant	—	70
Medical attendance on the negroes	—	25
Negro-supplies, <i>viz.</i> clothing, &c. salted fish, and other provisions, exclusive of the produce of their own grounds	—	200
Colonial taxes	—	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	595	
Total for three years, before any return can be expected	—	1785

Compound

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK	Compound interest, as it arises in the several years	£. s. d.
V.		
	— 221	— 2,006 — —
	Total expence	£. 15,059 — —

Returns the fourth year, at £.4 per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs.	— 1,800 — —
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year	— 595
Sacks and saddles	— 40
	— 635 — —
Clear profit	— £1,165 — —

(being equal to £.7. 14s. per cent on the capital.)

Returns the fifth and subsequent years; viz.

150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. per acre, 112,500 lbs. at £.4 —	£. s. d.
Deduct annual charges, as before	— 4,500 — —
Sacks and saddles	— 595
Repairs of mills, &c.	— 80
	— 100
	— 775 — —
Clear profit (being equal to 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the capital)	£. 3,725 — —

HAVING

HAVING thus copiously treated of the cultivation of those products which chiefly give value and importance to the British colonies in the West Indies, and contribute in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce and navigation of the parent state, it is the less necessary for me to dwell at great length on minor staples; yet these cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehensive survey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be considered as unimportant, except by comparison with those rich and profitable commodities of which so much has been said in this and the preceding chapters. The remaining classes, of which I shall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnotto*, *aloes*, and *piemento*. As my observations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a systematical description of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

C H A P.
IV.

C A C A O.

THE cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholesome and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is said to have been originally conveyed to Hispaniola from some of the provinces of New Spain; where, besides affording to the natives an article of nourishment, it served the purpose of money; and was used by them as a medium in barter; one hundred and fifty of the nuts being considered of much the same value as a *ryal* by the Spaniards. From this circumstance, it seems probable that if

VOL. II.

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the

BOOK the ancient inhabitants of South America were
V. emigrants from Europe or Asia, they must have
detached themselves at an early period, before
metals were converted into coins, or from some
society which had made but moderate advances in
civilization.

Among the Spaniards, with whom the cacao still forms a considerable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following manner. Having chosen a spot of level land (a deep black mould is preferred) sheltered round with a thick wood, so as to be well screened from the wind, especially the north, and caused it to be cleared from all manner of stumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet distance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and six or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having selected the largest and fairest pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a vessel of water. Such of them as swim are rejected; the others, being washed clean from the pulp and skinned, are suffered to remain in the water till they begin to sprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or some other large leaves, and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, so as to line it round; leaving however the sides of the leaf some inches above the ground; after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, 'till the hole is filled. He then selects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a small opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downwards from which the sprout issues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a small stone

stone on the top to prevent its opening. In this C H A P. manner he plants his whole walk, or orchard. IV.

At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to rise above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to shelter them from the sun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpose those of the palm kind are generally chosen (for having a strong stem, they are easily fixed in the earth) and they are changed as often as they decay, for the space of five or six months. It is also thought advisable to plant some other tree (the erythrina or bean tree is generally chosen for this purpose) to the south-west of the cacao plant, which may grow up with it, and serve it for shelter;—for it must always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flourish only in the shade.

If all the three nuts planted in each hole spring up, it is thought necessary, when the plants are eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they spread different ways, are sometimes suffered to remain; but it seldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reason of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection. It then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty pounds weight, according to the soil and seasons; and it will sometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the same delicacy of stamina which marks its infancy, is visible in all the stages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and shrinks from the first appearance of drought.

T 2 It

BOOK It has happened that the greatest part of a whole
 V. plantation of cacao trees have perished in a single
 night, without any visible cause. Circumstances
 of this nature, in early times, gave rise to many
 superstitious notions concerning this tree, and,
 among others, the appearance of a comet was
 always considered as fatal to the cacao planta-
 tions.

In spite however of the influence of comets, and notwithstanding the care and precaution that are requisite in the first establishment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extensive and successful in the British sugar islands, for many years after they had become subject to the British government. Blome, who published a short account of Jamaica in 1672, speaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "there are, says he, in this island, at this time, about sixty cacao walks (plantations) and many more now planting." At present I believe there is not a single cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few scattered trees, here and there, are all that remain of those flourishing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boast of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of ministerial exaction. The excise on cacao, when made into cakes, rose to no less than twelve pounds twelve shillings *per cwt.* exclusive of eleven shillings and eleven pence halfpenny, paid at the custom-house; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty *per cent.* on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped that the error of imposing such heavy impositions on our own colonial growths, is at length become sufficiently mani-
 fest.

After all, there is reason to apprehend that our C H A P. sugar islands can never again enter into competition with the Spanish Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At present the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both those islands cannot, I believe, be estimated, on an average, at more than four thousand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thousand pounds sterling *.

* The cacao tree, both in size and shape, somewhat resembles a young *blackheart cherry*. The flower is of a saffron colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green state are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine bluish red, almost purple, with pink-coloured veins. This is the common sort; but there is a larger species, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again inclosed in a white pulpy substance, soft and sweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment shell. These nuts, being first simply dried in the sun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the shell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally used under this name in England, appear to me to be composed of not more than one half genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Castile soap*. Considered medicinally, chocolate is said to be too heavy for weak and relaxed stomachs; but in the West Indies, experience abundantly demonstrates that it is in the highest degree balsamic and restorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the first white person born after the conquest of the island by the English, lived to the great age of one hundred and ten, and for the last thirty years of his life used scarce any other food than chocolate.

GINGER.

BOOK V. THIS grateful aromatic root had a very early introduction into Hispaniola, and I should not have supposed it an exotic, but that Acosta relates it was conveyed from the East Indies to New Spain by a person named Francisco de Mendoza.

If such was the fact, the Spanish Americans must have entertained very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very short space of time; it appearing from the same author, that no less than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is distinguished into two sorts, the black and the white; but the difference arises wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preservation by means of boiling water, the latter by insolation; and, as it is found necessary to select the fairest and soundest roots for exposure to the sun, white ginger is commonly one-third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater skill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the same manner; but is fit for digging only once a year, unless for the purpose of preserving it in syrup. In that case it must be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender, and full of sap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable sweetmeat; but it is too well known to require description.

It seems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of use in Europe, and its cultivation in the West Indies decreases in consequence. The average quantity exported annually from the British islands may be stated at ten thousand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce

duce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a C H A P. very small part from Dominica) is raised in Ja- IV. maica. Its medium price, at the London market, is forty shillings the hundred weight *.

A R N A T T O.

THIS production is indigenous, and was called by one class of Indians roucou, and by another achiotte. Of its present name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is bixa. It is a shrub which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chestnut. Within these are thirty or forty irregularly figured seeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleasant smell, in appearance like the sort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was used by Indians, in the same manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

Of the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, because most of the arnatto, shipped at present from our own islands, is, I believe, gathered from trees growing spontaneously. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is simply by boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the seeds are taken out, and the water left undisturbed for the pulp to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed into shallow vessels, and dried gradually in the shade.

* Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one cwt. each, and 8864 lbs. in casks.—An acre of fresh land, with favourable seasons, will yield about 140 lbs. annually.

Arnatto

BOOK V. Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spanish Americans with their chocolate ; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They suppose that it strengthens the stomach, stops fluxes, and abates febrile symptoms ; but its principal consumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers. I am informed that it is sometimes used by the Dutch farmers, to give a richness of colour to their butter, and very small quantities of it are said to be applied in the same manner in English dairies.— On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not sufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

A L O E S.

THE most valuable species of aloes is that of the island of Socotra in the East Indies, the introduction of which in our West Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The species called the hepatic, is the only sort known to our planters, and even of this, the cultivation in the British dominions is, I believe, at present, wholly confined to the island of Barbadoes, where it is said to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by suckers, and will thrive in soils the most dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows :

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleansed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then sliced, and cut in pieces, into small hand-baskets or nets. These nets or baskets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and

and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken **C H A P.** out, and fresh parcels supplied, till the liquor is **IV.** strong and black.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a strainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where it is left to cool, and to deposit its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron vessel. At first it is boiled briskly, but towards the end the evaporation is slow, and requires constant stirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the consistence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabashes, for sale, and hardens by age.

P I E M E N T O, OR A L L S P I C E.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the most elegant productions in nature ; a production which rivals the most valuable spices of the East, combining the flavour and properties of many of those spices ; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable substitute, and succedaneum for them all.

The piemento trees grow spontaneously, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly situations near the sea, on the northern side of that island ; where they form the most delicious groves that can possibly be imagined ; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very distant part of the globe, to our great poet's description of those balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

“ Sabeans odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest.
Cheer'd with the grateful smell, old ocean smiles.”

This

BOOK This tree is purely a child of nature, and V. seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new pimento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called *a walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of wood land, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young pimento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the pimento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young pimento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay tree, and these, in the months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable

remarkable that the leaves are equally fragrant C H A P. with the fruit, and I am told yield in distillation a IV. delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used, in the medicinal dispensaries of Europe, for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom, the berries become fit for gathering ; the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state, being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible however to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest ; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand ;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the small branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries ; and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70 lbs. in the day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a pimento walk in a favourable season are prodigious. A single tree has been known to yield 150 lbs. of the raw fruit, or one cwt. of the dried spice ; there being commonly a loss in weight of one-third in curing ; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the British market, as may be supposed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for some years past, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty, which is three-pence.

•
This,

BOOK V. This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however so little profit to the owner, compared with that of some other productions, that the growth of piemento decreases every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about six thousand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.

I HAVE now finished all that I proposed to offer on West Indian productions and agriculture. The subject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myself, I have no doubt that I have exhausted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten however that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not strewed with roses, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almost untrodden. In such a pursuit, I may perhaps be content to give up all pretensions to the happy talent of blending pleasure with instruction, satisfied with the homely praise of being useful to the most useful part of the community.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK VI.
GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

C H A P. I.

Colonial Establishments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the usual Choice of Persons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and President.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legislature.—Its Necessity, Propriety, and Legality considered.—Some Corrections in the Constitution of this Body proposed.

THE British establishments in the West Indies C H A P. I. are commonly termed *king's governments*, in contradistinction to the *proprietary* and *charter governments* which were known in North America; and, from what has been stated in some of the preceding chapters, the reader must have observed,

BOOKED, how very nearly internal constitutions conform to that of the mother country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like those of England, and their legislatures, in general, respectively consist of three distinct branches; *i. e.* a governor, representing the crown, a council or upper house, and a body of delegates representing the people at large. The two first are necessarily imperfect, because they are not independent; but the members of the last are more fairly and equally chosen by their constituents, than those of the British House of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exercised by these several branches respectively, in their own little system, and whence derived, I shall now briefly treat. And, first, of the

G O V E R N O R.

EVERY chief governor in the British West Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain. He receives through courtesy the title of Excellency, and is vested with the following powers:

First, as captain general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government (except only when a general officer is employed on the staff) and he commissions all officers of the militia. He appoints the judges of all the different courts of common law, and even these gentlemen, in all the islands I believe (Jamaica excepted *) hold their

* By an act passed in 1781, entitled, "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and respectable," it is declared that no judge shall be removed but by

their seats during the governor's good pleasure. C H A P. I.
He nominates and supercedes at will, the custodes, justices of the peace, and other subordinate civil officers; and although in respect to some of the above appointments and dismissions, he is directed to ask the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inasmuch as the members of this body are themselves liable to be suspended by the governor, on the most frivolous pretences, or even without any cause assigned; a circumstance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his instructions, he can fill up the vacancies *instanter*, with such persons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to summon general assemblies; he appoints the place of their meeting, and when met, he possesses a negative voice in the legislature, for without his consent, no bill passes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone shall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all such general assemblies. He has the disposal of all such civil employments as the crown does not dispose of; and with respect to such offices as are usually filled up by the British government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the persons so appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are superceded at home, and until the persons nominated to supercede them, arrive in the colo-

by the king's pleasure, signified under his majesty's sign manual. It is provided however that the governor, with the consent of five of his council, may *suspend*, until the king's pleasure be known, accounting to his majesty for, and delivering to the party suspended a copy of his reasons in writing for such suspension. This proviso seems to me to render this act in a great measure nugatory.

ny.

BOOK ny. The governor claims the privilege also, in VI. extraordinary cases, and has been known frequently to exercise it, of suspending such civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commission from the boards of treasury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate general, the collectors of the customs, &c. and of nominating other persons to act in their room, until the king's pleasure shall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he shall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in cases of murder and high treason; and even in these cases, the governor is permitted to reprieve until the signification of the royal pleasure.

Secondly, the governor has the custody of the great seal, and, in most of the colonies, presides solely in the High Court of Chancery. Indeed, in some of the Windward Islands, as we have seen, the council sit as judges in the court of Chancery with the governor: Process however is issued by the governor alone, and tested in his name; and in general the governor exercises within his jurisdiction, the same extensive powers as are possessed by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

Thirdly, the governor is Ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath also the power of granting probate of wills, and administration of the effects of persons dying intestate. He grants licences for marriages, and licences for schools, &c. and is sole judge in all matters relating to the consistorial or ecclesiastical law.

Fourthly, the governor presides in the court of error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of

of writs of error, from the superior courts of C H A P. common law. VI.

Fifthly, the governor is also vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As such, he is entitled to the rights of *jetson*, *flotsam*, &c. and in time of war, he issues his warrant to the judge of the court of vice admiralty, to grant commissions to privateers *.

Lastly, a colony governor, besides various emoluments arising from fees, fines, forfeitures, and escheats, has an honourable annual provision settled upon him, by act of assembly, for the whole term of his administration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to prostitute the dignity of his station by improper condescensions to leading men in the assembly, he is restrained by his instructions from accepting any salary, unless the same be settled upon him by law, within the space of one year after his entrance into the government, and expressly made irrevocable during the whole term of his residence in the administration. And this, in my opinion, is a wise, and most necessary restriction.

Armed with such various authorities, and possessing such transcendent preheminence and privileges as I have described, it is not to be expected,

* It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the court of vice admiralty in the Colonies, by the iv of Geo. III. chap. 15, is invested with a concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of record, in cases of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the British colonies in America; and in prosecutions in this court, all questions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the intervention of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The colonists complain with great reason of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their best and dearest constitutional rights.

BOOK from the common fallibility of human nature, VI. that every colony governor (placed at so great a distance from the mother country) should, on every occasion, *bear his faculties weekly*. Great caution is therefore undoubtedly necessary, on the part of a British minister, in the choice of persons for a trust of so great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation governors are invested being more extensive than those which the laws of England allow to the sovereign himself. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit, and connections, are commonly the most forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a distant government can present himself; and that persons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have sometimes been sent to preside in our most important settlements, as if justice and public virtue were best administered and promoted by men most distinguished for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the best protectors of other people's fortunes, who, by vice and profusion, had dissipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a constituent part of the legislature, which has power to controul the administration of executive justice, and, in most cases, has the sole exercise of the vast and extensive jurisdiction appertaining to a court of equity, it might be supposed that a prudent minister, among other qualifications in the person selected, would consider that some little knowledge of the laws and constitution of England is indispensably requisite. It is remarkable, however, that the military professions (which certainly are not eminent for such kind of knowledge) are found to supply most of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high station. It were unjust, at the same time, not to allow that some of these have

have acquitted themselves in the civil department CHAP. with extraordinary reputation and honor. Both I. the late Sir William Trelawney and Sir Basil — Keith, who successively administered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet possessing sound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant satisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the disapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, so long as worthy governors shall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind*. But these are rare instances; and it must generally

* Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to lose, in an untimely grave, their highly valued and most lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain general of that island in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in the army; and, with the frankness and firmness of the soldier, possessed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as Chancellor surpassed all that the warmest of his friends had predicted. He displayed a calmness of temper, and a clearness of conception, which the captious and subtle perplexities of forensic argument could not disturb or elude. His mind was strong, quick, penetrating, sound, and decisive; but the prominent feature of his character, which displayed itself in all cases and on every occasion, was a manly and unshaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding strait forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favor, or affection.—At his first entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were soon happily experienced, and he then became the most popular of all governors. The Roman people displayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifested by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loss of Lord Effingham. The assembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his Lordship, and another for those of the Countess of Effingham, who died a short time before him. They likewise ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate

U 2 the

BOOK generally be admitted, that the appointment to
 VI. high civil offices of men whose education and past
 pursuits have not given them opportunities of ac-
 quiring much acquaintance with the principles of
 our limited government, is a very dangerous ex-
 periment. Persons of this class, with the purest
 intentions, are easily misled by selfish and interest-
 ed men, whom the consciousness of their own de-
 ficiencies

the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had
 the honor of drawing up the inscription thereon; which is as
 follows:

To the Memory of
 THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
 Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Island
 in the years 1790 and 1791;
 And of KATHERINE his Wife.
 The latter, departed this life on the 13th day of
 October, 1791,
 In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
 in his Majesty's ship Diana:
 The former, on the 19th of the following month,
 The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
 with the remains of his beloved Consort,
 whom he seemed unwilling to survive,
 And with whom he was deposited in the same grave.
 Thus, united in their lives
 by the most tender and exalted ties,—
 He—the fond and indulgent Husband,
 She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
 In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
 of so illustrious a pattern of conjugal affection:
 To manifest the public sense
 of the many public and private virtues of their
 respected Governor;
 And to record, for the benefit of posterity,
 The clearness of that sagacity,
 The extent of that knowledge,
 And the purity and firmness of that integrity,
 which rendered his administration

The

ficiencies compels them to consult.—Even while C H A P. actuated by honest and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the first principles of law and a free constitution, by establishing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can sanctify. Mr. Stokes, the late chief justice of Georgia, relates that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a British colony) ordered the provost-marshal to hang up a convict some days before the time appointed by his sentence, and a rule of court for his execution. “ He meant well, says Stokes, but, being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after sentence, he had power to execute also when he pleased ; and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be persuaded, that, by this very act, he was himself committing felony.”

An anecdote not less curious than the former is related by the same author of another military governor, who, it seems, took it into his head to suspend a gentleman from his seat in the council for no other reason than marrying his daughter without his consent.

It may be said, perhaps, that in these cases the mischief to the public, exclusive of the precedent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an instance, in the conduct of governors, in which something more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant misap-

The boast and security of a grateful people,
The ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA,
having caused the remains of this noble and
lamented pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the public expence, the whole House
attending each procession as Mourners,
As a farther testimony of merited esteem
Inscribe this Monument.

plication

BOOK plication of authority. But the task is invidious,
VI. and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT.

IN a government comprehending several islands, as the Leeward Charaibean Island government, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain general or chief governor, a lieutenant general, who is next in succession, and who is usually lieutenant governor likewise of one of the islands included within the general government, each of which, in the absence of the captain general from that particular island, has its affairs administered by a lieutenant governor, or the president of the council, most commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant governor is on the spot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a pension of 200*l.* a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is seldom that a lieutenant governor is appointed during the residence on the island of a captain general, there being no establishment or provision for such an officer holding a dormant commission; who has therefore neither power nor profit. He is not, as lieutenant governor, entitled even to a seat in the council. On the resignation, or absence on leave, of the captain general, a lieutenant governor, if not present, is frequently sent over, who then succeeds to the supreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government*.

Mr.

* The following instance of ministerial œconomy may amuse, but cannot surprise, my readers in the colonies.—
About

Mr. Long is of opinion that a president of CHAP. the council, taking upon him the government I. on the demise or absence of a governor or lieutenant governor, cannot legally dissolve the house of assembly; nor issue writs for calling a new one; because he has no express commission from the Sovereign under the great seal

About the year 1767, when the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordship by some gentlemen of Jamaica, then residing in England, for a provision for a lieutenant governor, who should reside within the island at the same time with the captain general. The reason assigned was to prevent a devolution of the government to the president of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the measure than an unwillingness to saddle either the mother country or the colony with additional expence.— But finding, among other emoluments of the captain general, that he derived about 1000*l.* sterling per annum from the command of a fortification at Port-Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other appointments of the chief governor to be sufficiently liberal, his lordship stipulated with the next governor, Sir William Trelawney, that he should resign Fort Charles to Lieutenant Governor Dalling, on condition of residence. Thus were the wishes of the gentlemen gratified, and a provision made for a lieutenant governor, without expence either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, considering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the minister's friend, the conduct of Lord Shelburne in the business was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the result. In the administration of Lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demise of Sir William Trelawney, succeeded to the chief command: and the new minister, considering 1000*l.* per annum no despicable object, instead of continuing Fort Charles as a provision for a lieutenant governor, seized on it for his own use, and soon after assigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever since. Thus the island suffers the same inconveniency it complained of before, with the burthen of providing 1000*l.* a year for a person who neither resides within the island, nor has any other connection with it;—for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, to whose very name, it is probable, the principal himself is a stranger.

of

HISTORY OF THE
BOOK of Great Britain, giving authority for that pur-
VI. pose.

THE COUNCIL.

THE members of this board are severally appointed by the Royal mandamus, directed to the governor and countersigned by the secretary of state, and the names of the several members for the time being are inserted in the governor's instructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve*: in some of the smaller islands *ten*, and in case of as many vacancies, by death, absence or suspension, as reduce the board under *seven*, the governor or commander in chief, is impowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices are these:

First: They are by courtesy severally addressed, in the colonies, *Honourable*; they take precedence next to the commander in chief; and, on the death or absence of the governor, lieutenant general, and lieutenant governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds to the government, under the title of *President*.

Secondly: They are a council of state, the governor or commander in chief presiding in person, to whom they stand in the same relation as the privy council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation governor is directed by his instructions to advise with his council on most occasions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is absolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act, in most cases, not only *without*, but even *against*, their concurrence: he may, it is true, by so doing, incur the

the king's displeasure; but his proceedings are C H A P. nevertheless efficient and legal within the co- I. lony.

Thirdly: They are named, in every commission of the peace, as justices throughout the colony to which they belong.

Fourthly: The council, together with the commander in chief, sit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil causes from the courts of record; and in some of the islands two or more of the members sit with the governor in the court of chancery, as assistant commissioners of the great seal, as I have elsewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are, by the king's order, avoked before his majesty himself in council.

Fifthly: The council is a constituent part of the legislature; their consent being necessary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legislators, they sit as the upper house, and in most of the colonies, distinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of persons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter protests on their journals after the manner of the house of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, usher of the black rod, &c. &c.

It has been thought strange that one and the same body of men should act in two such different capacities and functions, as a privy council sworn to secrecy and fidelity, and an upper house of legislature; "the admitting such a distinction, says a late governor, may be supposed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as counsellors: because their duty to the people, as legislators, may seem to oblige them very

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK very frequently to support opinions repugnant to
VI. a governor's schemes †.

But to this it may be answered, that, if the governor's schemes are, in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true interests of the people, their opposition to such schemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity, nor does it necessarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have sworn to keep secret.

It appears to me, that the people at large residing within the colonies, have much more cause of apprehension than their governors, from the existence and exercise of legislative authority, in so unstable a body as the board in question: For although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their respective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indispensably necessary to their appointment, as in the case of members chosen into the assembly. Persons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of interests with its inhabitants, and who consider themselves wholly at the governor's disposal, and bound to support all his measures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: From the power which the governors assume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of suspension, the board has not stability sufficient to insure respect to its resolutions. It has neither strength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps sometimes find themselves in a

† This opinion of Governor Lyttelton is quoted more at large in the History of Jamaica, by Mr. Long, vol. I. p. 156.

more

more disagreeable predicament than even those C H A P. who have none ; for they may be compelled to I. vote as a governor shall dictate, in support, pos- sibly, of measures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be ex- posed to the affront of public degradation ; to the consequent malignant misconstructions of the vulgar ; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a station which subjects them to censure, for honestly discharg- ing the duties of it.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the colonists at large, from the inefficiency and instability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the British government, not merely to correct existing abuses, but also to obviate and prevent (as far as human foresight will permit) such as may pos- sibly or probably happen ; many intelligent per- sons have been led to controvert the claim of the council altogether to a participation in the legis- lature. They deny that this claim derives any just support either from analogy to the constitu- tion of the parent state, from the royal delega- tion, or from any law of sufficient comprehen- sion and efficacy to warrant such a pretension in a body so constituted.

The principal arguments which have been ad- vanced in support of this opinion, are to this effect :

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary mem- bers of the legislature, and sit in parliament for the support of their own great interests and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body be- tween the crown and the people. In civil pro- cess their persons are sacred, and in criminal, they are tried by their own order. Neither can their

BOOK their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary cases, and then only by the sentence of the whole house, as a court of the highest jurisdiction, or by an act of the whole legislature. The sovereign, it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleases, but having once raised a subject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward, as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded, not only on royal concessions, but on the ancient fundamental constitution of the realm. Thus, the house of lords forms a separate branch of the legislature, distinct from, and entirely independent of, the crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now, in all these respects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or similitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a separate estate, and supply in the colonies the place of, the house of peers of Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itself sufficiently extensive to constitute such a legislative branch, or separate estate in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legislation, but the king has no right to propose a law to, or to alter a law proposed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is not so properly a legislative power, as a negative on the legislation of the other branches; a mere defensive privilege to enable him to withstand the encroachments of the legislature, and preserve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he possesses not himself, nothing less than a solemn and precisely declaratory law, proposed by the representatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended,

tended, have given the shadow of authority to C H A P. a colonial or provincial council to form themselves into a distinct legislative estate. It follows, that their claim to legislative powers, thus unsupported, is usurpation and tyranny.

These arguments, or arguments to the same effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's History of Jamaica. I shall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate discussion, but content myself with briefly stating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception) of the pretensions of this branch to a distinct share in colonial legislation. If it be shewn that the exercise of these pretensions may, on several occasions, be absolutely necessary to the welfare and safety of the community; a very few words will suffice on the question of their constitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to establish in any of the colonial governments *three* distinct independent legislative powers acting on the spot, in the view of forming constitutions on the model of England, I do not however believe; because, while the crown retains its necessary and constitutional right of disannulling all acts of the provincial legislatures, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewise exercised by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* distinct estates instead of *three*. The case was, without doubt, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to constitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legislative authority was at an early period entrusted to the governors and their council, *acting conjointly*, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the

BOOK the representatives of the people on the other.
 VI. The presence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought adviseable, in the view that the interests of the crown might generally preponderate; while by selecting the members of the council from men of the first consequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived that a salutary check was contrived against those abuses to which power, in the best hands, is sometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies possessed the semblance, at least, of an English legislative constitution *.

That such was the first intention in the formation of all or most of the king's governments in the plantations (imperfect as the system confessedly is, from the instability of the council) appears from the instance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement still exists; the governor and council, in matters of legislation, constituting, not *two* separate and distinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* constituent branch only, sitting and deliberating together.—And such too, for some years, was the practice of Jamaica, and, I believe, of all or most of the rest of the royal governments; but as it sometimes became necessary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the displeasure of the assembly from himself to the council, declined by degrees attending on such occasions; leaving it to the board to settle matters with the assembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, because his absence, re-

* Every governor is expressly instructed to transmit from time to time to his Majesty the names of such of the principal inhabitants as are best qualified to supply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any person is appointed who is not previously recommended by the governor.

moving

moving a restraint, gave them the semblance of a C H A P.
distinct independent estate; and the crown, per- I.
ceiving the utility and advantage of the measure,
confirmed and established the practice by degrees
in most of the royal governments throughout the
British plantations. If the people's representa-
tives had considered this exclusive interposition of
the council as an innovation, *then* was their time
to have opposed it; but it has not appeared to
me that the assembly of any one colony, at any
one period, denied a right in the council to nega-
tive bills in the first instance, without the gover-
nor's consent or participation. Now the right in
the council to reject bills altogether in the first in-
stance, necessarily comprehending the privilege
of offering amendments to particular claues,
(money bills are always, and very properly, ex-
cepted) the exercise of which privilege is, in truth,
nothing more than an offer of compromise between
the council and assembly. The former may say,
“we propose such and such amendments; adopt
them, or we use our power of rejection.” And
this I take to be the plain origin and actual rise
of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the coun-
cil-board in every British colony in the West In-
dies (Barbadoes excepted) of deliberating apart
from the governor on all bills sent up by the
assembly; of proposing amendments to such bills,
and of rejecting altogether, and without any par-
ticipation with the governor, such of them as they
disapprove. Further than this, I do not know
that the legislative authority of the council ex-
tends, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing
the exercise of *such* an authority, when enforced
freely and independently, a most necessary and
useful expedient, tending to prevent violent and
mischievous disputes between the delegates of the
people,

BOOK people, and the representatives of the crown. Its
VI. origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption
in the colonies for a century at least, and
recognition by the crown, have given it such a
prescriptive establishment, as I conceive constitutes law*.

After all, the objections which have been made to the present constitution of this body, arising from its want of sufficient stability and independence, are of an important and serious nature.—Men are very unfit for legislators, whose deliberations are liable to be biased by external and improper influence. If, on some occasions, they are instruments of good, on others they may prove instruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial assemblies would take the subject into serious and temperate consideration. Were it required by law that no person should be appointed of the council who was not possessed of a landed estate within the colony to some given value, as an indispensable qualification, so that the private interests of the members might be blended with those of every other citizen, and were the terrors of suspension, which, like the sword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a respectable and most useful body†. At the same time,

it

* In truth the colonies gained a very important acquisition by this separation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legislation, for, obtaining by this means the semblance of three distinct estates, it enabled them the more easily to secure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws should be immediately in force as soon as consented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

† There arises, however, some difficulty in considering this point. While the council are liable to be suspended at the will

it will behoove the representatives of the people, C H A P. in an especial manner, to keep in their own hands, I. undiminished and unimpaired, as a sacred deposit, the great and exclusive privilege of granting or withholding the supplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, shall once possess themselves of the smallest share in this most important of all popular rights, they will become, from that moment, a standing senate, and an insolent aristocracy.

will of an arbitrary and capricious governor (and I remember an instance in Jamaica, of seven members being suspended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence) their authority is very lightly regarded, and sometimes they are even treated with contempt and insult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legislative capacity, become formidable both to the king's representative and the people. They might obstruct the supplies for no better reason than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they should still be amovable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they possess at present, they should be amovable only by the king's express order, in consequence of a joint address from the commander in chief and the house of assembly.— Their present constitution certainly requires some correction and amendment; the more so, as in some of the colonies they have set up pretensions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exercised the power of arbitrarily imprisoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating public bills at their board, and even of amending money bills passed by the assembly. They have also claimed the right of appropriating the public revenue, &c. &c. All these, and other pretensions, are equally inconsistent with their original appointment of a *council of assistants* to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at present exist, and ought to be constantly and firmly resisted by the people's representatives.

C H A P. II*.

Houses of Assembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of establishing in the Colonies Constitutions less free than that of Great Britain.—Most of the British West Indian Islands settled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and some other Islands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legislatures how constituted, and the Extent of their Jurisdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain, how secured.—Constitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

BOOK **I** N treating of the assemblies, or popular branch VI. in the local system of colonial administration, I shall first attempt to investigate the origin of the claim of the colonists to legislate for themselves, by means of those assemblies, and to display the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother country. Afterwards, I shall enquire by what

* In this chapter, the nature and necessary uniformity of my work, compel me to tread over a field wherein the foot-steps of a great many preceding writers are still visible. I presume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myself, or give additional weight to those which have been advanced by others, on subjects so well understood, and so frequently and freely canvassed during the late unhappy disputes with America. My aim will be answered, if, instead of originality and novelty, I am found to possess perspicuity and precision. Happily, the great rights of mankind are sufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abstracted hypothesis.

means

means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable subordination to the British parliament, is secured and maintained.

C H A P.
II.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter, concerning a prerogative in the crown to invest the colonial council boards with some share of legislative authority, I trust it will not follow that the English constitution has at any time lodged in the king the still greater prerogative of establishing in the British dependencies, such a form and system of government as his majesty shall think best. It is surely one thing to say, that the crown may introduce into the plantations such checks and controuls as are congenial to those institutions by which freedom is best secured in the mother country, and another to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Nevertheless, were the maxim well founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the system of colonial establishments is unlimited, no conclusion could be drawn from it that would impeach, in the smallest degree, the claim of the British colonists in America to a British constitution; inasmuch as the sovereign, representing the whole nation, repeatedly recognized in the first settlers and their posterity, by various solemn grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the same liberties, privileges, and immunities which were possessed and enjoyed by their fellow subjects remaining in Great Britain.

I know not, indeed, that those grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were essentially necessary to freedom; for if, as I presume I have sufficiently demonstrated on a former occasion *,

* Book III. c. 2.

BOOK even a conquered state, retaining its ancient in-
VI. habitants, no sooner becomes ceded to Great
Britain, than it is assimilated to its government,
and imbibes the spirit of its free constitution;—
if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it
requires but little argument to prove that English
subjects, whether settling in countries which their
valour has annexed to the British dominion, or
emigrating for the purpose of forming plantations
on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*,
so long as they preserve their allegiance, to at
least an equal degree of national protection, with
adopted aliens and vanquished enemies. Some of
our possessions in America and the West Indies
(Jamaica in particular, as we have seen) were
obtained by the forces of the state; the individ-
uals of which became proprietors of the coun-
try which they had conquered. Other countries,
as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant
and unoccupied, and were made valuable appen-
dages to Great Britain, by the enterprising spirit
and at the sole expence of a few private adventur-
ers. Even where the lands were forcibly taken
from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though no-
thing can sanctify injustice, yet the English title
is unimpeachable by any other European power;
and the English nation has received the benefit of
the enterprize. Shall it then (to use an excellent
and unanswerable argument of Mr. Long on this
subject)* shall it be affirmed, ‘that if English
‘ forces conquer, or English adventurers possess
‘ themselves of distant lands, and thereby extend
‘ the empire, and add to the trade and opulence
‘ of England; the Englishmen so possessing and
‘ planting such territory, ought, in consideration

* Hist. Jamaica.

‘ of

- of the great services thereby effected to their C H A P.
- nation, to be treated worse than aliens, to forfeit II.
- all the rights of English subjects, and to be left
- to the mercy of an absolute and arbitrary form
- of government?" Nothing surely can equal the absurdity of so savage a doctrine*!

Considering, therefore, the further discussion of this point as superfluous, I come to the conclusion which necessarily results from the premises, and

* "Let us consider (says Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and see what power he gets, and over whom.

"First, he gets no power by his conquest over those that conquered with him. They that fought on his side cannot suffer by the conquest, but must at least be as much freemen as they were before. And most commonly, they serve upon terms, and on condition to share with their leader, and enjoy a part of the spoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering sword : or, at least, have a part of the subdued country bestowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be slaves by conquest, and wear their laurels only to shew they are sacrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by some, that the English monarchy is founded in the Norman conquest, and that our princes have thereby a title to absolute dominion ; which, if it were true (as by history it appears otherwise) and that William had a right to make war on this island, yet his dominion by conquest could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons, that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all descended from them, are freemen, and no subjects by conquest ; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correspondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatise of the Case of Ireland's being bound by English Acts of Parliament, repeats the same argument, and illustrates it as follows : "Supposing (he observes) that Hen. II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation ; the English and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born subjects : they, and their descendants, could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious ; for so, the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish."

it

BOOK it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, VI. that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the first planters, emigrating to America and the West Indies, all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges.* They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expressive of a reciprocal relation between the sovereign and his subjects, notwithstanding their removal, conveying the consent of the king, as head and representative of the English state, to their emigration; and assuring them, expressly, or by evident implication, so long as they preserved their allegiance, the full and undisturbed enjoyment of those inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminish.

Such, I conceive, was the ground on which the first English colonists claimed, amongst other rights, the great and important one of assenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to speak somewhat more suitably to the actual situation of the people of England, of being bound by such laws only, as in their operation, should extend to, and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers equally with all the rest of the kingdom*; and hence, the establishment

* By the principles of the British constitution, every man should be represented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is safely borne, because the interest of every particular member of parliament stands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppressed. In other words, the great security which the people of Great Britain have, that their representatives shall not abuse their trust, is, *that they cannot impose on others what they are not to feel themselves.* 'If

ment in all the British provinces of North America, and islands of the West Indies, of assemblies, or houses of representatives, which, being freely chosen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occasionally to be resolved into the general mass, must necessarily participate, with a tender interest, in every thing that concerns the people.

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Perhaps, instead of confirming to the colonists this liberal system of self-government, it was, or might have been contended on the part of the crown, that the permission of returning representatives to the British parliament, was all that, on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Chester might have been adduced in support of this argument. Those counties being counties palatine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgesses, they were touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that acts and statutes so made, "were derogatory unto their most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges." Their plea was allowed, and parliamentary representation granted them. It is observable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibeau Islands, as well as some provinces of North America, were at first created into counties palatine, expressly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly consider the subject must *now* think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thousand miles dis-

tant,

an act of parliament was made (says Judge Hobart) constituting a man a judge in his own cause, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent speech of George Johnstone, Esquire, in the Parliamentary Debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

BOOK tant, was impracticable to any good purpose. It
VI. is most certain, that the British parliament, from
first to last, consented that the king should govern
his subjects in America (so far at least as related
to their own internal concerns) as he governed
his subjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their
own. Nor, if the election of representatives is
“an original right, vested in, and inseparable from
the freehold,” as it hath been pronounced by the
highest authority*; and if the impracticability
of the colonists being adequately represented in
the British legislature be admitted, could such a
consent be with-held from them on any principle
of reason and justice; unless indeed it be reason-
able and just to contend, that the colonists, as
having, from their remote situation, need of
greater protection than their fellow-subjects at
home, are on that account entitled to *less*.

Provincial parliaments, or colonial assemblies
(it matters not by what name they are called) being
thus established and recognized, we shall find
that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and
extent of jurisdiction within their own circle,
they have constantly copied, and are required to
copy, as nearly as circumstances will admit, the
example of the parliament of Great Britain. The
freeholders are assembled in each town or parish
respectively by the king's writ; their suffrages are
taken by an officer of the crown, and the per-
sons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal
proclamation, to meet together at a certain time
and place in the proclamation named, to frame
statutes and ordinances for the public safety.
When met, the oaths of allegiance, &c. are ad-
ministered unto each of them; and a speaker be-

* Lord Chief Justice Holt.

ing

ing chosen and approved, the session opens by a C H A P. speech from the king's representative. The assem- II. bly then proceed, as a grand provincial inquest, to hear grievances, and to correct such public abuses as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They commit for contempts, and the courts of law have refused, after solemn argument, to discharge persons committed by the speaker's warrant.—They examine and controul the accounts of the public treasurer;—they vote such supplies, lay such taxes, and frame such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exercise the highest acts of legislation; for their penal laws, which the judges are sworn to execute, extend even to life; many persons having suffered death under laws passed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal assent. On the whole, subject to the restriction that their trade laws are not repugnant to those of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend *.

This

* The following proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illustrates this part of my subject, cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every inhabitant of the British colonies.

To his honour ROGER HOPE ELLETON, Esquire, his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over this his Majesty's island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

The humble Address of the Assembly.

May it please your honour,

‘ We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your honour's readiness to hear, and inclination to redress, as much as in you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his majesty's subjects,

BOOK This restriction was intended probably as an
 VI. auxiliary to other means for preserving the unity
 of the empire, and maintaining the superintend-
 ing and controuling power of the mother country
 in

subjects, beg leave to repreſent to you one which calls aloud
 for immediate relief, it being in itſelf of the moſt dangerous
 and alarming naſure, and having already given birth to ſuch
 confuſions and diſtractions in this unhappy country, as have
 not at any time before been known in it.

Our anſtors, Sir, who ſettled this British colony, were
 Englishmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of
 England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could
 forfeit by ſettling here. Ever ſince civil government was
 firſt eſtablished among us, which was very ſoon after the re-
 ſtoration of King Charles the Second, we have enjoyed in
 this colony a conſtitution and form of government as nearly
 reſembling that of our mother country as it was perhaps
 poſſible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our proper-
 ties, ſecured to us by the ſame laws, have ever been deter-
 mined and adjudged by ſimilar jurisdictions, and ſuch monies
 as have been neceſſary for the ſupport of his maſtly's go-
 vernment here, have, as in England, ever been raised upon
 the people with their own conſent given by their representa-
 tives in assembly; our courts of juſtice, where life, liberty,
 and property are adjudged, are governed by the ſame laws,
 and ſtand in the ſame degrees of ſubordination to one ano-
 ther, as the courts which they reſpectively ſtand for, do in
 England; our house of assembly, as repreſenting the whole
 body of our people, does, and ever did, hold the ſame rank
 in the ſystem of our conſtitution, as the house of commons
 does in that of our mother country; here, as in England,
 our repreſentatives in assembly are the grand inqueſt of our
 community; they have the power, and it is their duty to
 enquire into the corruptions of office, the abuses of govern-
 ment, and the ill administration of juſtice, and for that pur-
 poſe it is that this body has here, as in our mother country,
 ever enjoyed a ſuperiority over all the courts of juſtice, and
 a power of examining their conduct; and all judges, magiſ-
 trates, and public officers, have ever been amenable to the
 assembly, and their conduct liable to its inspection; and
 here, as in England, we owe it to the wholſome and fre-
 quent exertions of ſuch a power in the repreſentative body of
 the people, that we are at this day a free people; without it

we

in matters of trade; but it implies also a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part of the British parliament, not to interpose its authority in matters to which the colonial assemblies are sufficiently

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" we can have no security or defence against the corruption of judges, and the abuses which may happen in every department of administration.

" It is against a most flagrant, unprovoked, and unprecedented attack and violation which Mr. Lyttelton, our late chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the people, that we now resort to your honour for redress.

" In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, two men who had been committed by the assembly for breach of privilege, and were in custody of Edward Bolt, the messenger of the house, by virtue of the speaker's warrant, did, in contempt of the power and jurisdiction of the house, apply in the first instance to Mr. Lyttelton as chancellor, for writs of Habeas Corpus upon the statute of the thirty-first of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the said writs, he did, in a Court of Chancery which he called for that purpose, release the prisoners, and declare as follows:

" That it did not appear to him from the words of any act of parliament, or of any act of the governor, council, and assembly of this island, or of his majesty's commission or instructions to his excellency as governor of this island, or by any other means whatsoever, that the commitment of the said Pierce Cooke into the custody of the said Edward Bolt is legal; and his excellency the chancellor was therefore pleased to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby ordered, adjudged, and decreed, That the said Pierce Cooke be, by the authority of this court, released and discharged from the custody of the said Edward Bolt; and did also make the same declaration and order as to the said Lachlan M'Neil," which orders and declarations of his, he did most irregularly call decrees, and order them to be enrolled among the records of the Court of Chancery.

" It is evident from the opinions of the ablest lawyers in England, ever since the passing of that statute, from the opinions and declarations of judges, the uniform determinations of all the courts in England, and the constant declarations and practice of the house of commons, that the said statute was not, nor could be intended to extend to commitments by either house of parliament, and that the house of com-

" mons

BOOK sufficiently competent. With powers so extensive
 VI. and efficient, these assemblies must necessarily be
 sovereign and supreme within their own jurisdiction; unobstructed by, and independent of all
 controul

mons is the only proper judge of its own privileges and commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttelton's, tends therefore manifestly to degrade the representatives of the people, in the system of our constitution, from that rank and authority which is held by the like body in our mother country, and if suffered to remain, would subvert the fundamentals of that system, by giving the Court of Chancery a power to controul the proceedings of the assembly, and by reducing them to a dangerous and unconstitutional dependence upon governors, would leave the people without that protection against arbitrary power, which nothing but a free and independent assembly can give them.

Every court of justice, from the meanest quarter session, up to the two houses of parliament, has a power of committing for contempt, and this power requires no act of parliament to confer it, it being incident to the institution of every court of justice, and necessary for its existence, for it would be impossible to support any authority without it.

The courts of justice here, standing in the same degrees of subordination to one another, as they respectively do in England; commitments by the inferior, may be, and frequently are, examined and determined by the superior courts; and as commitments by the house of commons cannot be, nor ever were, discharged by any of the inferior courts, so this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton stands in our country without a precedent, such a thing having never before his time been attempted.

The power of commitment by the house of commons is their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, of which they are the only competent judges, for they judge of these matters by the law and usage of parliament, which is part of the common law.

As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exercise the same powers with those they stand for in England, it is surely reasonable and just that the representatives of the people here, called by the same authority, and constituted for the same ends, should also enjoy the same powers with those of Great Britain.

We beg leave to represent further to your honour, that by the thirty-first clause of an act of the governor, council, and assembly

controul from without; for nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, that a people can be subject to two different legislatures, exercising at the same time equal powers, yet not communicating with

assembly of this island, intituled, " An act for granting a revenue to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the support of the government of this island, and for reviving and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof," which has received the royal approbation, it is declared, " That all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for ever;" and that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their minutes, considering it their duty to assimilate their proceedings to those of the house of commons, have constantly governed themselves in cases of commitment, and in the exercise of their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of parliament, which being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the use and benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of the above act beyond a possibility of doubt.

This arbitrary measure of Mr. Lyttelton, so totally unprecedented either in England or here, so repugnant to reason, to justice, and law, and so evidently subversive of our rights, liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be considered by your honour as it deserves to be; and as it marks that gentleman's administration with the most odious colours, so, we trust, that the destruction of it will distinguish and adorn your's.

It is in full confidence of your honour's justice and love of liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of ourselves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before your honour, the ill consequences and injustice of the aforesaid determination, and beseech you, as the only means of quieting the disturbance and apprehensions they have raised in the minds of his majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, to give orders that the same be vacated, and the enrolment thereof cancelled from the records of the court of Chancery, in such a way, that no traces may remain of so wicked and dangerous a precedent.

Passed the assembly the second day of July, 1766.

The preceding application from the house of assembly having been submitted by the lieutenant governor to the council

BOOK with each other, nor, from their situation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have

council for their advice, the board addressed him as follows:

The humble Address of the Council.

‘ May it please your honour, —

‘ We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your honour's message, laying before us the address of the house of assembly to your honour, taken into our serious consideration the subject-matter thereof: we have also examined and considered the proceedings now in the office of the register of the Court of Chancery, and the determination of his excellency the late chancellor, touching the release of Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, from a commitment of the assembly. Although we have the most favourable opinion of the late chancellor's intention in that decision, yet finding that no chancellor or judge in this island, ever before took upon himself to make any determination upon a warrant or commitment of either branch of the legislature, it is with concern, we observe, that such proceeding of the late chancellor is so new, in so delicate a case, by discharging the said Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil from the commitment of the house of assembly, was unprecedented and irregular.

‘ It is also with sorrow of heart we have seen and felt this his majesty's colony, ever since that determination, labouring under a variety of distresses, flowing chiefly from the apprehensions of his majesty's subjects, that the establishing a precedent of this nature in the Court of Chancery, might lay a foundation for chancellors and judges of inferior courts to interfere in, and to take upon them to determine on the privileges of the legislative bodies of this island.

‘ Permit us therefore to recommend it to your honour, as the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual to quiet the minds of the people, to unite the several branches of the legislature, and to restore peace and tranquillity to this country, that you will be pleased to cause the said determination made by the late chancellor, whereby the said Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil were discharged from their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be brought

have allotted to the inhabitants of the British colonies, tend immediately to sovereign and national empire, distinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent state. It will be found, however,

‘ brought before you, and in the presence of the council and assembly, that you will be pleased to cause the register of the said court of Chancery to enter a vacatur on the said determination, or otherwise reverse it in the most effectual manner, so that the same may not be made use of as a precedent in future.’

On receiving this address, the lieutenant governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the house in the council chamber, was pleased to make the following speech :

‘ Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

‘ In consequence of the addresses I have received from each of your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determination upon record in the office of the register of the Court of Chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedented, whereby the minds of the people have been greatly disquieted, and many distresses and evils have arisen to this country; and having nothing so much at heart, as the supporting the honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting the peace and happiness of the people, I have, agreeably to your requests, taken, as chancellor, such order therein, that the said proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are vacated, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and for your further satisfaction herein, I have ordered the register to attend forthwith in the council chamber with the said proceeding, and the book of records in which the same are entered, and that he do, in presence of the three branches of the legislature of this island, enter a vacatur in the margin of the said several proceedings, and the entries of the same in the said book of records, and that he do in your presence draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof, in the usual form and manner.

‘ This measure, adopted upon your united recommendation, cannot, I am persuaded, fail of producing every happy consequence, by restoring and firmly establishing that harmony and unanimity so earnestly wished for, and so essentially necessary

C H A P.
II.

BOOK however, that the dependency of the colonies on, VI. and their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and also their proper subordination to the British parliament, are secured by sufficient ties, regulations, and restraints; some of which seem at first inconsistent even with the premises I have stated. Thus, as to the supremacy of the crown; among various other prerogatives, the king reserves to himself, not only the nomination of the several governors, the members of the council, and most of the public officers of all descriptions †, but he possesses also at the same time, as we have seen, the right of disallowing and rejecting all laws and statutes of the colonial assemblies, even after they have received the assent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence the affirma-

‘ necessary to his majesty’s service, and the welfare of this community.’

The register of the Court of Chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the several proceedings in the said addrefs mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the prefence of his honour, and in the prefence of the council and assembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the said several proceedings, and draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the several papers relating thereto.

It was after a long and arduous struggle, that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no less than five different assemblies having been called, and abruptly dissolved, because they refused to raise the supplies, unless satisfaction was given them in this businels; at length, on a change of ministers in Great Britain, the Governor (Mr. Lyttelton) was recalled, and the lieutenant governor directed to comply with their wishes, in the manner we have seen.

† This is spoken of those colonies which are called king’s governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, subject to the restrictions contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. and in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except those of the admiralty and customs, were chosen by the people.

tive

five voice of the people in their representatives, C H A P: is opposed by three negatives; the first in the II: council, the second in the governor, and the third in the crown; which possesses likewise the power of punishing the two former branches by dismission, if they presume to act in contradiction to the royal pleasure.

Not is the regal authority less efficient and extensive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legislative. The governor, as I have shewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but whether assisted by his council, or presiding solely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king in council; in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes; and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or sentence of the governor in council, fitting as a court of error *. The reason assigned in law authorities for allowing such appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of law in the colonies might by degrees insensibly deviate from those of the mother country, to the diminution of her superiority †.

Again: the king, as supreme head of the empire, has the sole prerogative of making peace

* It is necessary however in either court, first, That in cases of property the matter in dispute should be to the value of £.500 sterling, to be ascertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving security for the prosecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing must proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is dismissed of course. A cause cannot be transmitted for difficulty; but must be determined one way or other.

† Vaughan's Reports 402. Show. Parl. C. 33.

BOOK and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with
VI. foreign states; and the colonists are as fully
bound by, and subject to, the consequences there-
of, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far
is readily admitted; but another claim of the
crown, supposed to result from the prerogative
last mentioned—I mean, that of regulating all
the colonial military establishments both by sea
and land, quartering troops in such towns and
places in the plantations as the king sees best,
augmenting them at pleasure, and retaining them
in the colonies at all times and at all seasons, as
well in peace as in war, not only without, but
against, the consent of their assemblies, must be
admitted with some limitation.

It is indeed asserted in all our law books, that
the sole supreme command and government of all
the forces by sea and land, and of all forts and
places in all parts of the British dominions, ever
was, constitutionally and legally, the undoubted
and exclusive prerogative of the crown; but,
against the abuses which might possibly result
from the exercise of a power thus extensive and
dictatorial, the subjects residing within the realm
have this security, that their representatives may
retain in their own hands the means of support
of all the British forces, both maritime and mili-
tary. Thus, though the king has the preroga-
tive of commanding armies and equipping fleets,
yet without the concurrence of parliament he
cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but
without the assistance of parliament he cannot
carry it on. The royal prerogative in these re-
spects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ship
completely equipped, but which the parliament,
by drawing off the water, can at pleasure leave
aground.

It

It seems therefore naturally and necessarily to C H A P. follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are II. entitled to the same rights, and have equal securities for those rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow subjects in Great Britain, there must exist some restraint against the exorbitance and abuse of the power contended for in the present case. It is to little purpose to tell the colonists, when groaning under the pressure of military government, that no military force, however legally raised and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the sword will decide upon the question of law †.

To as little purpose may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never suffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be established in any part of the British dominions. They will probably insist, that the British parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at least in the first instance. They may contend that those who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppression, can best determine when it may be proper to resist its attack, or to guard against its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament should be apprized that the just authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into ty-

† It is observable that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commissioners appointed, in April 1778, for restoring peace in America. In a letter from the Earl of Carlisle, Messieurs Eden and Johnstone, three of the said commissioners, to the president of the congress, dated the 9th of June, 1778, they declare a disposition to concur in such an arrangement as should provide that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

BOOK ranny, it is not only their right, but their duty, VI. to interpose, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently said, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain shall be devoted, it is probable her dissolution will not begin in the center: she will feel subjection, like the coldness of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.

Having thus pointed out some remarkable instances of colonial subordination to the king, as the sovereign head and supreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I shall proceed to another enquiry, of no less importance (and to which indeed some of the last observations naturally lead) and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons constitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exercised in supporting the unity of the empire, and preserving that subordination and dependance which the colonists, as fellow subjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that, in all societies, there must exist somewhere an absolute and despotic jurisdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *absolute despotic* power (says Judge Blackstone) is, by the British constitution, *entrusted to parliament*," meaning to king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled; but I conceive that the learned judge has not expressed himself on this occasion with his usual accuracy; inasmuch as all "*entrusted*" authority is necessarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*absolute and despotic*." The truth is, that this despotic and unlimited power is reserved by the people

people in their own hands (not to be resorted to CHAP. indeed, but in the last extremity) and it never II. was the intention of any society of free agents, from the creation of the world to this day, to delegate to any man or body of men, an absolute and despotic authority in all cases over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifested insanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, must have been void from the beginning.

It is universally admitted, that the English government, consisting of king, lords, and commons, is a *limited* government. It is therefore a gross and palpable contradiction and paradox to say, that a *limited* government can possess *unlimited* authority. If it be asked, by what limits its authority is restrained? I answer, by those ancient, fundamental, unwritten laws, which in the act of settlement, are called THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE. These are the laws to which we allude, when we speak of the *English constitution*, in contradistinction to *English acts of parliament*. It is a system of principles transmitted down to us from time immemorial, and established into common rights at the price of the best blood of our ancestors. Such are the rights of personal liberty and private property, the mode of trial by jury, the freedom of worshipping our Creator in what manner we think best, a share in the legislature, and various other rights, coeval with the government; which if the legislature should wantonly abrogate or subvert, they would be guilty of tyrannical and unfounded usurpation, and the people would be justified, by the laws of God and nature, in resuming into their own hands (in the last resort, I admit) the trust which has been thus violated and abused.

As

BOOK As the legislative power of Great Britain therefore is supreme only in a relative sense, even within the realm, where the people themselves participate in its authority, much less can it be said to be supreme, *in all cases whatsoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been solemnly declared by parliament itself, that parliament has such a power: but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not invest them with it.

Considering the constituent branches of the British legislature separately, it will be difficult to point out any just authority whatever, existing either in the peers or the representatives of the people over the colonies. We have seen that the first settlers in most of the British plantations, were a part of the English people, in every respect equal to them, and possessed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were possessed of, and irrefragably to that great right of consenting to all laws by which they were to be governed. The people of England therefore, or their representatives, have no rights, powers, or privileges to bestow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already possessed of equally with themselves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exercise authority over them.

As to the English peers, they are possessed of very eminent privileges; from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of justice in the dernier resort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no such capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the house of peers having never heard or determined causes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was,

was, and is their duty to serve the subjects with- C H A P.
in the realm. II.

Thus, incapable from their situation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the British legislature, the colonists have legislatures of their own, which are subject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The person, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is *their* king ; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and commons ; to whom they are not subjects, but *fellow subjects* with them to the same sovereign.

Justly considering, nevertheless, the protection which they receive in the name of the sovereign, *as afforded by the state*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament, is arbiter, controuling and regulating all intercourse with foreign nations, they readily admit that they stand towards the British legislature in that degree of subordination which implies every authority in the latter, essential to the preservation of the *whole* ; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother country and her colonies. “ We are (said the Americans) but parts of a *whole*, and therefore there must exist a power somewhere, to preside and preserve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the British parliament.” In all matters therefore, to which the local jurisdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the superintending controul of Great Britain is necessarily admitted ; and they likewise admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection †.

To

† The nature and extent of the subordination here contended for, was clearly understood, and is well explained, in the

BOOK VI. To ascertain the various contingencies and circumstances wherein, on the principles stated, the British legislature has, and has not, a right to interpose, is perhaps impossible; because circumstances may occur to render its interposition necessary, which cannot be foreseen. "But although it may be difficult (says Governor Pow-nall) to draw the line of limitation, yet some such line there certainly must be, and I think those are not to be heard who affirm, that no line can be drawn between the supreme authority of parliament, and no authority at all."

Nevertheless, it were not difficult to point out many cases, and to imagine others, wherein the authority of parliament has been, and may again be, constitutionally exerted, in regard to the co-

the case of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatise published by him soon after the revolution.—His words are these:

"The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient concessions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themselves by their own suffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by several provinces of France, which nevertheless account themselves subordinate to the sovereign power of the whole state.

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which must reside sovereignly some where; for there would be such a perpetual clashing of power and jurisdictions, as were inconsistent with the very being of communities, unless this last resort were somewhere lodged. Now this incomunicable power we take to be the supreme judgment of what is best and most expedient for the whole; and in all reason of government, this ought to be there trusted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland should judge of what is best for itself, this is just and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is most expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the supreme judgment ought to rest in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whose arms and treasure Ireland ever was, and must always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, published by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

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lonies, without abolishing every restriction on CHAP^{II.} the part of governors, and extinguishing every right on the part of the governed §. Previously excluding,

§ Such is the general system of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies; and I will now add some instances of parliamentary interference, on other occasions, which I conceive to be consistent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the first princes of the Stewart family affected to consider the plantations as their own demesnes, with a view of making them a source of revenue to themselves, the commons opposed and defeated a claim which, if it had been established, might have rendered the king independent of the British parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402.) Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interposition on this occasion. Again, we have seen in the history of Barbadoes, a great minister (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the house of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alledged, that the house in this business exceeded the limits of its proper and constitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, some laws were passed by one or two of the provincial assemblies, which were supposed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother country. This gave occasion to a clause in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22. which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, shall be deemed null and void." This, though a strong, was certainly a justifiable exertion of English supremacy. By the 6th Anne, c. 30. a general post office is established in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation; but as Dr. Franklyn observed, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another; and as the revenue which it raised was considered in the nature of a *quantum meruit*, a reward for service (a service too, which the colonists were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have sent his letters as before by a private messenger) the act was submitted to. After this, some laws were passed, which were thought to bear hard upon the rights of the colonists. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7. in consequence of some petitions from different bodies of English merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy

BOOK excluding, however, every idea of its interpolation in the concerns of internal legislation, and VI. all other matters to which the colonial assemblies are sufficiently competent; for, to the reasons already stated for this absolute exclusion, may be added, the utter impossibility that two different legislatures can, at all times, and in the same moment, enforce their authority on the same object, inasmuch as they may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this consequence must follow; either the British must yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or constitutional unfitness of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconsist-

remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, " houses, negroes, and other hereditaments, and all real " estate whatever, should be liable to, and chargeable with, " all debts, due either to the king, or any of his subjects, " and be assets for the satisfaction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53. "the governors and assemblies of the " respective provinces are restrained from passing any act, " order, resolution, or vote, whereby paper bills, or bills of " credit, shall be increased or issued." As both these laws were passed in favour of English merchants, who had advanced money for the use of the colonists, it was thought dishonourable to object to the regulations which they established. The laws were therefore submitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legislatures, who considered them as infringing their liberties. Their submission to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted against them, and assigned as the best of all possible reasons for requiring unconditional submission on all other occasions.

From what has been said above, and what will hereafter be stated on the subject of the commercial system, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the boundary contended for, between a constitutional, superintending, controlling power in the British parliament, and a system of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*

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ency would render government at once oppressive and ridiculous ||.

C H A P.

II.

But, in a government of which freedom is the basis, and of which it is the boast that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happiness of all its subjects, it might be supposed that no other authority over its dependencies could be necessary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatness should contribute, at the same time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And such, before the late unfortunate divisions, was the commercial system adopted by Great Britain; and submitted to by her American colonies. To discriminate the several parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of restriction and monopoly; to shew that it secured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which

|| If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legislation of the colonies, she could have had no possible right to tax them for the purpose of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that she would have had a right to tax them, even if she had possessed just authority to make laws for their internal government. " Taxation (said Lord Chatham) is " no part of the governing or *legislative* power. Taxes are a " voluntary gift and grant of the commons *alone*. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned: " but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, " is only necessary to clothe it in the form of a law. The " gift and grant is of the commons *alone*." It is unnecessary to say more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, because parliament itself (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquished the claim. By the 18th Geo. III. c. 12. the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impose any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the West Indies, except for the regulation of commerce: the produce whereof is always to be applied to the use of the colony in which it is levied.

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BOOK is consistent with the happiness and freedom of
VI. mankind, (the ends of all just government); and
finally, that it might have answered, in the ful-
lest degree, even the objects of revenue and con-
tribution, if Great Britain had happily confined
her pretensions to the limits originally prescribed
by herself——for these purposes it would be
necessary to enter into a large and comprehen-
sive discussion, to which the design of my work
does not extend. How far the British sugar
islands constituted a part of, and were compriz-
ed in, the general system, I shall endeavour to
point out in the subsequent chapters.

C H A P. III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe settled Colonies in America.—Commercial regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admission of foreign-built Vessels, eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Islands, and their Value.—The same from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the West Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of British Capital vested in the Sugar Islands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Observations.

THE establishment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (says Montesquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires ; but for the purpose of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival states. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reason, is the leading principle of colonial intercourse.

This account, with some little qualification, may be admitted ; and a very slight enquiry will demonstrate that it applies as pointedly to the English, as to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herself the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in some cases, proved more liberal than those of rival states ; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was precisely the same : To secure to themselves respectively,

the

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK the most important of the productions of their
 VI. colonies, and to retain to themselves exclusively,
 the great advantage of supplying those colonies
 with European goods and manufactures, was the
 chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the several parts of this system, and its consequent train of duties, restrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wise and politic, as they are evidently selfish, is a question that of late has been much controverted. But this is a discussion into which it can answer no good purpose to enter, because the present arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly established to be abrogated; and thus much at least has been truly said in its favour, that it is calculated to correspond with the regulations of foreign states; for so long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themselves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following their example, is to contradict both experience and reason.

Of the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was passed in the 12th year of King Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be considered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other provisions, declared,

First, that no goods or commodities shall be imported into, or exported out of, any of his Majesty's plantations or territories in Asia, Africa, or America, but in ships *belonging to* the subjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in such as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, such plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the master are English subjects, on pain of the forfeiture of ship and cargo; and all

all admirals and commanders of king's ships ^{C H A P.}
are authorized to make seizure of ships offending ^{III.}
herein.

Secondly, That no person born out of the allegiance of his Majesty, who is not naturalized, or made a free denizen, shall act as a merchant or factor in any of the said places, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

Thirdly, That all governors, before they enter into the exercise of their office, shall take an oath to do their utmost, that the above-mentioned regulations shall be punctually and *bona fide* observed; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, shall be removed from his government.

Fourthly, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Asia, and America, shall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernsey and Jersey, or Berwick, in any other ships but those *belonging to* the said places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforesaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ship and cargo.

Fifthly, That no *sugars, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic*, or other *dying woods*, of the production of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, shall be exported therefrom to any place, except to some other English plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradistinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

Lastly, Bond security is required from all ships trading to or in the plantations, and lading on board such commodities, for the due observance of this part of the law.

Such, together with the conditions under which foreign-built ships were to enjoy the privilege of English ships, are the chief restrictions and provisions

BOOK vi. *visions of this celebrated statute, so far as they relate to the plantation trade,* and they are extended and strengthened by a law which passed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are also sworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. 2. c. 7. it is enacted, that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into the British plantations, *but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick; and in English-built shipping, (or ships taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, and carried directly to the said plantations.* There is an exception however as to salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horses and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after stating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother country, assigns the motive for this restriction to be, “*the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home and those in the plantations, keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and encrease of English shipping, vent of English manufactures and commodities; rendering the navigation to and from them more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supply of them, it being (continues the preamble) the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves*.*”

Ten

* The design of this act, says Pottethwaite, was to make a double voyage necessary, where the colonies used any commodities

Ten years after this, another act passed (25 Cha. C H A P. II. c. 7.) imposing duties on sugar and other commodities* exported from one colony to another, and the following is assigned as the reason : " that the inhabitants of some of the said colonies, not content with being supplied with those commodities for their own use, free from all customs, had, contrary to law, exported considerable quantities to divers parts of Europe, and did likewise vend great quantities to the shipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of the parent state." For the prevention of this inconvenience in future, the duties in question are laid on the export of those commodities from the plantations ; unless security be given to transport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the same, I believe, as were then paid in England on most of those commodities imported for home consumption.

This act was soon found to require explanation and amendment ; for the payment of the aforesaid duties having been considered in the colonies

modities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but British : for if they could not be shipped in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable that by this act, Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods shall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatsoever, until they have been first unladen and put ashore in some port or haven in *England, Wales, or Berwick*. By a subsequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was expressly shut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

* White sugar 5s. and Muscovado 1s. 6d. per cwt. ; tobacco 1d. cotton-wool $\frac{1}{2}$ d. indigo 2d. cacao 1d. per lb. ; logwood £.5. ginger 1s. the cwt. ; fustic, &c. 6d.

BOOK as an exoneration from giving security not to go
 VI. to any foreign market in Europe ; it was provided
 by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithstanding
 the payment of the duties in question, the
 same security should be given as was required by
 former acts ; and it was enacted and declared,
 that no commodities of the growth or manufac-
 ture of the plantations, should, on any pretence
 whatsoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland,
 unless the same were first landed in England, and
 had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were
 there chargeable by law.

By the same act it is declared, that no goods or
 merchandize whatever shall be imported into, or
 exported out of, any British colony or plantation,
 but in ships *built* in England, Ireland, or the plan-
 tations, wholly owned by English subjects, and
 navigated as before ; and provisions are established
 concerning the registering of ships, to prevent the
 fraud of passing foreign-built ships as English ;
 together with various regulations to prevent coun-
 terfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and
 export to and from the colonies ; for all which,
 reference must be made to the act at large, which
 is systematic and comprehensive in a high degree.

These acts therefore, and some intermediate
 ones, which it is not necessary to particularise,
 may be considered as supplemental to the naviga-
 tion act, and they form altogether the foundation
 of our colonial code ; most of the subsequent acts,
 now in force, being framed in the same spirit,
 and intended to enforce and strengthen the sys-
 tem ; with some few alterations and exceptions
 only, which however do not extend to any great
 and substantial change in the principle or ground-
 work *.

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* The following, I believe, are the chief additions, altera-
 tions, and exceptions, so far as the British sugar islands are
 principally

The reader will find that the system embraces C H A P. two distinct objects; first, the augmentation of III. our —

principally concerned. If the reader is desirous of the fullest and most correct information on this head, he is referred to the History of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Esq; an admirable work, in which the driest subjects are treated with such clearness, precision, and elegance, as to render the book not only instructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and interesting.

By statute 3 and 4 Ann, c. 5. Rice and molasses were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Irish linens, laden in Ireland in English-built shipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann, c. 8. Jesuits bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the British plantations, on payment of the same duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15. and 7 Geo. II. c. 18. Cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in British or other ships; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. Rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *Non-enumerated* goods (viz. goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18.) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithstanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a subsequent statute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. Sugars, under certain regulations and restrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the British plantations to any port or place southward of Cape Finisterre, and also to any foreign port of Europe in licensed ships, which are to call first at some port in Great Britain.—This was considered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were so strict and numerous, as to defeat in a great measure the intention of the legislature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. sect. 27. British plantation coffee, pimento, and cacao nuts are put into the enumeration; as are likewise whale fins, raw silk, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes; and by sect. 28. security is required that no iron, nor

BOOK our naval strength, by an entire exclusion of
 VI. foreign shipping from our plantation trade; secondly,

any sort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any British colony or plantation, shall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45. by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. Bond is required to be given in the British plantations, that no rum or other spirits shall be landed in the Isle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. security is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the same shall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finisterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a subsequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 52. Any sort of cotton wool may be imported in British built ships from any country or place, duty free.

By the 6 Geo. III. c. 49. was established the measure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatsoever (except tobacco), the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay and Rousseau in Dominica, and into Kingston, Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein, among sundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, viz. St. George, in the island of Grenada, and the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fustic, and other dye woods, hides and tallow, beaver and all sorts of furs, tortoise shell, mill timber, mahogany, &c. horses, asses, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any colony or plantation in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign European sovereign or state, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burden of seventy tons, and provided also that such vessel is owned and navigated

condly, the securing to Great Britain all the emoluments arising from her colonies, by a double monopoly over them: *viz.* a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain: and a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can serve any useful purpose to the Mother Country) is to be no where but *to* Great Britain. On the same idea, it was contrived, that they should send all their products to us *raw*, and in their first state; and that they should take every thing from us in the last stage of manufacture.

Most of our commercial writers, and many of our statesmen have considered the two great leading principles above mentioned to be so closely interwoven together, and dependant on each other, as not to be disjointed without violence to

navigated by the subjects of some foreign European sovereign or state. It is permitted also to the same description of persons and vessels to export from these parts British plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval stores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a subsequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the restriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign vessels is taken off, but these vessels are still limited to one deck.

The next great measure was the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was first partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo. III. c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourse with the colonies, both in respect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only that the goods so imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions as in Great Britain; a condition to which the Parliament of Ireland consented, by passing an act imposing duties on the imports, conformably with those of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, since the independence of the United States, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

both;

BOOK both ; whereas in truth, the monopoly of our
 VI. colonial products, and the advantages arising
 from the supply of their wants, might not only
 be supported, even though foreign-built vessels
 were incorporated into the great body of our
 shipping, but it may eventually happen, that both
 our trade and navigation would be greatly improv-
 ed and extended by such a measure.

That the maintenance of our naval strength is
 one of the most important objects to which the
 British government can direct its attention, no
 person of common understanding will venture to
 dispute ; and so long as Great Britain can herself
 furnish shipping on the cheapest terms, sufficient
 for all the great branches of her commerce, every
 possible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be
 given to our own shipwrights, and every discour-
 agement to the participation of foreigners in the
 ship-building trade : But it is the interest of the
 merchant to get his freight as cheap as possible ;
 it is equally so of the manufacturer ; because every
 increase in the price of shipping and freight, ope-
 rates as a tax upon the commodities shipped, and
 affects the foreign demand in proportion. If
 therefore, from progressive improvements in our
 agriculture and manufactures, the two great found-
 ers and employers of shipping, the maritime com-
 mercial of all the British dominions shall at any
 time require a greater number of ships than Great
 Britain and her dependencies can furnish on any
 saving terms, either recourse must be had to for-
 eign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of
 Procrustes, must be lopped and shortened to make
 it suit the measure of our own *.

Navigation

* " Can it be reconciled to common sense to assert, that if
 the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 sail
 of vessels every year *gratis*, it would be against the interest of
 the

Navigation and naval power are the *children*, C H A P. not the *parents* of commerce; for if agriculture III. and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furnish the subject-matter of intercourse between distant countries, there must be an end to navigation. The remark therefore of a very distinguished senator *, concerning that branch of our commercial system of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, "that if the navigation act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose †.

Having

the nation (as a nation) to accept them, because it might prove detrimental to some individuals among us (our shipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, considered in this extended light, it can never, by a parity of reason, be admitted in cases where vessels can be purchased at one-half the price it would cost to build them."—Vide a Short Address from a Manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America.—Printed for Stockdale, 1785.

* Mr. Burke.

† An American writer of a periodical work called the *Museum*, published at Philadelphia, in 1791, having been informed, that France had permitted the introduction of American vessels into her trade, (in which, however, he was mistaken) expresses the following sentiments; which, to my understanding, convey conviction in every word. "If France " (faith he) had rejected American vessels, she would have so " far sacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ships. " She wisely purchases, upon the cheapest terms, the cradles " for her marine nursery. The first and great object of the " maritime powers ought to be, *the increase of the number of their sailors*, which is best done by multiplying the chances " of their employment. Among the means of doing this, " one of the most obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of vessels*. The French-built ships cost from fifty-five to sixty " dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, exclusive of " sea

BOOK VI. Having observed thus much on the leading principles, or general system of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be seen, I shall now proceed to the more immediate object of our present researches, and endeavour to furnish the reader with some leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the British sugar islands, and the commerce which they create; by investigating,

1st. The nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain, and her dependencies, for the supply of their wants, and the profits of the British merchants and ship owners thereon.

2dly. The particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of these islands, annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

" sea stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilotage, and other expences incidental to the employment, and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The American live-oak and cedar ships, to which none are superior, cost in the same situation, from thirty-three to thirty-five dollars, finished very completely. If the French require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or in any term of time, they may be procured in the United States, on a computation of the medium price of thirty-four dollars per ton, for the sum of 340,000 dollars: but, if bought at fifty-five dollars, the lowest price in France, they would cost the much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is necessary to shew, that such a nation, *ceteris paribus*, must produce seamen more rapidly than those who refuse these cheap vessels. It would appear much less unreasonable, that the government of the United States should prohibit the sale of ships (*the means of obtaining naval strength*) to foreign nations, than that any of them should reject the great advantage of so cheap and excellent a supply." Such is the reasoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, because the circumstance which gave rise to them did not exist.

3dly.

3dly. The value of the sugar islands consider- C H A P.
ed as so much British capital. III.

4thly. A state of the shipping and seamen to
which the British sugar islands afford employ-
ment.

A full enumeration of the various articles which furnish the ships bound to the West Indies with an outward freight, would indeed comprise a considerable proportion of almost all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the rest of Europe and the East Indies. The inhabitants of the sugar islands are wholly dependant on the mother country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegan- cies, but also for the common necessaries of life. In most other states and kingdoms, the first ob- ject of agriculture is to raise food for the support of the inhabitants; but many of the rich produc- tions of the West Indies yield a profit so much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in several of the sugar islands, it is true œconomy in the planter, rather to buy provisions from others, than to raise them by his own labour. The pro- duce of a single acre of his cane fields, will pur- chase more Indian corn than can be raised in five times that extent of land, and pay besides the freight from other countries. Thus not only their household furniture, their implements of husbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily sustenance, are regularly sent to them from America or Europe. On the first head therefore, it may generally be observed, that the manufacturers of Birmingham and Manches- ter, the clothiers of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts, the potters of Staffordshire, the pro- prietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together

BOOK together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies, for their respective commodities, than perhaps they themselves conceive to be possible. Who would believe that woollens constitute an article of great consumption in the torrid zone? Such however, is the fact. Of the coarser kinds especially, for the use of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state; so entirely do these colonies depend on the mother country; centering in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections.

To the laudable researches of the lords of the committee of council on the subject of the slave trade, the public have been lately indebted for such a body of evidence and information respecting the general commerce of the British West Indies, as could not possibly have been collected by any exertions less extensive and efficient than those of government [†]. I have frequently had recourse to their lordships report in former parts of this work, and shall refer to it on this occasion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the British West Indies, in the year 1787 (since which time they certainly have not diminished) amounted to £.1,638,703 13s. 10d. the whole of which (except about £.200,000) consisted of British goods and manufactures. The exports of the same year to Africa, which, with all subsequent profits, must be charged to the same account, amount

[†] Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the Slave Trade, 1789.

to £.668,255 14s. 4d. § Besides this, the cost C H A P. is to be stated of manufactures and provisions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores ; the same having hitherto been purchased by British capitals, and conveyed to the West Indies in vessels trading circuitously from British ports, and the returns likewise made, for the most part, to Great Britain. For the same reason, the cost and freight of lumber, fish, and other productions of America, both from the American states and the British provinces, transported from thence to the British sugar islands, in British vessels, must likewise be added to the estimate.

Concerning Ireland, I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an Appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the British West Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return ; both in a direct trade. Of the former, the average value is £.294,353 Irish, being equal to £.277,218 sterling : the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

Of wines, from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly consumption in these islands may be estimated, on an average, at £.30,000.

Respecting America, the supplies that were annually furnished by those provinces which now constitute the United States, were valued, at the

§ The goods shipped for the purchase of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, constitute some small part of this ; but I make no deduction on that account, because the freight of, and merchants commissions on, such part as are applied to the purchase of slaves, and the profits on the sale of those slaves in the West Indies, not being charged in the inspector general's books, I set one against the other.

places

BOOK places of delivery, at no less than £.720,000 ~~ster-~~
 VI. ling; and they consisted of articles so essentially
 necessary, that the restrictions to which this trade
 is now subject (how grievously soever they are
 felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminish-
 ed the demand, or lessened the import \parallel . Official
 accounts of the present state of this inter-
 course are no where given to the public: a re-
 trospектив survey of its nature and extent, as it
 subsisted previous to the war, will be given in the
 subsequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from
 the remaining British American provinces, in-
 cluding Newfoundland; of which, in like man-
 ner, no account, that I have seen, has been pub-
 lished. Supposing they were equal in value to
 the West Indian commodities shipped thither in
 return (a conjecture probably not very wide of
 the truth) the sum to be charged on this account
 for 1787, is £.100,506 17s. 10d. *

I shall now bring into one point of view the
 several great items that have been enumerated;
 adding to the British and Irish supply 20 *per cent.*
 for the cost of freight and insurance outwards,
 the charges of shipping, commissions to the mer-
 chant-exporter in some cases, and the profits in
 others of the merchant-importer in the West

\parallel Jamaica, for a while, found some resource within itself
 for staves and lumber, but the country is, I believe, by this
 time nearly exhausted of those articles. The profit to Great
 Britain arising from the freight alone of the whole supply, is
 stated by the lords of the privy council at £.245,000 *per*
annum.

* Much the greater part of this sum is for fish from New-
 foundland; the import of that article from thence into the
 British West Indies, on an average of five years, (1783 to
 1787, both inclusive) having been 80,645 quintals, worth at
 the ports of delivery about 17s. 6d. the quintal.

Indies;

Indies; all which contribute to swell the debt C H A P.
of the planters to Great Britain, *viz.* III.

Exports from Great Britain, direct	£.	s.	d.
— from Ireland	1,638,703	13	10
	277,218	—	—
	1,915,921	13	10
Add 20 per cent. for freight, &c. &c.	383,184	6	2
			£.
			2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes	—	—	668,255
— from Madeira and the Azores	—	—	30,000
— United States of America	—	—	720,000
— British America	—	—	100,506
			—
Total —	3,817,867		

Perhaps it were no excess to state the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds sterling. Hence then appears the vast dependence of the British West Indian colonies on their parent country, for almost every thing that is useful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was justly observed, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that such a market for the vent of our manufactures, furnishes irrefragable proof, that, through whatever channel riches have flowed into those colonies, that influx hath made its passage to the mother country, "not (continued he) like the dash of an oriental torrent, but in salubrious, various, placid, and copious streams; refreshing and augmenting sober industry by additional employment to thousands and ten thousands of families, and lightening the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of parishes to poverty unemployed."

But

BOOK But it is not so much by the exports to, as by
 VI. the imports from, the Sugar Islands, that we are
 to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly British property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their staples are the more valuable, inasmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they supply the mother country, not only with what she must otherwise purchase from foreigners for her own use, but with a superfluity besides for foreign consumption. Let us now then, as proposed, enquire into the particulars, and estimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually supplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myself, as I have done in the history of each particular island, of the very exact, comprehensive, and valuable statement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the inspector-general of the exports and imports, with the marketable price of each article, as annexed by the committee of the privy council to their report on the slave trade; but I choose rather to look to the year 1788 chiefly, because the exports of any one year are set properly against the imports of the succeeding one; it being usual, in most articles of British export to the West Indies, to give twelve or sixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the British sugar islands in 1798, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the inspector general's return[†]; but that officer has not, in this case, as

† Report of the Privy Council, part iv.

in the account of the former year, affixed the C H A P. marketable prices §. These therefore are collect- III. ed from the opinions of respectable brokers, on a low average of the year; the miscellaneous articles excepted, which stand as stated by the inspector-general, with the addition of one-third, being the usual disproportion between the actual prices current, and those in the custom-house books.

§ The marketable prices, are the current prices after the duties have been cleared; and these are paid on importation, except as to the duties and excise on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be said to be paid by the planter in the first instance, as in the former case they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the consumer, as will hereafter be demonstrated.

IMPORTS

IMPORTS from the British West Indies into Great Britain, in 1788.

		Cwt.	£.	s.	d.
Sugar, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's	—	142,542 at 47s.	5,69,573	14	—
Antigua	—	Cwt.			
Grenada	—	181,813			
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla	—	193,783			
Jamaica	—	164,976	375,596 at 46s.	86,370	16
Barbadoes	—	1,124,017	1,488,993 at 44s.	2,835,784	12
Dominica	—	110,955			
		47,610			
		158,565 at 45s.	356,771	5	—
		Cwt. 1,065,696	£.	1,626,400	7
Rum, Jamaica	—	2,917,797	at 2s. 2d.	316,994	13
other islands	—	723,645	at 2s.	72,364	10
Coffee	—	32,283	Cwt.	—	
Cotton	—	11,618,384	lbs.	154,958	8
Ginger, Jamaica	—	3,892	Cwt.	—	
Barbadoes	—	5,735	at 30s.	5,838	—
			at 44s.	12,661	—
				18,499	—
				446,342	15
				153,440	18
				621,763	13
				£. 6,488,319	11
				4	
	Total	—	—	—	—

Miscellaneous articles valued at the custom-house prices
Add one-third the usual difference between the prices in the inspector-general's
books, and the current prices at market

The

The amount is £. 6,488,319 11s. 4d. and this CHAP. sum is altogether exclusive of bullion, of which III. the annual import from these islands into Great Britain is very considerable: it is presumed that, £.320,000 is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of £.6,808,319 11s. 4d. I will call it six million eight hundred thousand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the testimony of a merchant of the first character and ability; who, in his evidence before a committee of the house of commons, has fixed on this sum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the British West Indies for the same year*.

Of the imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from these islands, in 1788, no account, that I have seen, has been given to the public. I shall therefore adopt, from the authority of the inspector general, those of the year preceding, which stand thus:

To Ireland †	—	£.127,585	4	5
American States		196,460	8	—
British American colonies	—	100,506	17	10
Foreign West Indies		18,245	12	6
Africa	—	868	15	—
<hr/>				
Total		£.443,666	17	9

Add this sum to the British import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the British West Indies,

* See the evidence of George Hibbert, Esquire, merchant in London, before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed to take examinations on the slave trade, 20th March, 1790.

† In official accounts before referred to of the Irish exports and imports, and subjoined at length in an Appendix to this volume, it appears that the value of the goods imported into

BOOK Indies, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is seven million two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence sterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and 455,000 blacks, being one hundred and eleven pounds for each white person, and thirteen pounds eighteen shillings and six-pence per head, per annum, for man, woman, and child, black and white, throughout all the British West Indies.

From this immense supply, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in gross duties, upwards of £.1,800,000 sterling, exclusive of the duty of 4*½* per cent. collected in Barbadoes, and some other of the islands, and which being paid in kind, is, I presume, included in the general imports above stated. Of the remainder, we have already seen how large a share was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further sum, not less than £.1,037,000, must be placed to the same account, for freights and insurance homewards, commissions on the sale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it necessarily must be, by such a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very small proportion of the gross returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, most of whom are resident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the West Indies, and partly expended or invested in the mother country; in the one case giving vigour to indus-

Ireland from the British West Indies, has of late years greatly increased. In 1790 they amounted to £. 169,563 8s. 10d.—in 1791 to £. 218,589 1s. 10d.—and in 1792 to £. 225,774 14s. 3d. These sums are the currency of Ireland.

try,

try, in the other upholding the price of British C H A P. lands, or the credit of the British funds. With III. great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the house of commons, " that the sugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependant, have become the most considerable source of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the public, nor are any interests better entitled to the protection of the legislature, than theirs *."

I shall now state the value of this great property, considered as British capital. In the report of the privy council, it is estimated at seventy millions of pounds sterling, as follows: *viz.*

450,000 negroes at £.50 per head	£.	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utensils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground, double the value of the negroes		45,000,000
Value of the houses, &c. in the towns, the trading and coasting vessels, and their crews belonging to the islands		2,500,000
Total	<hr/>	70,000,000

Another

* The following are the particulars of freight and insurance homewards, commissions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Esquire, before referred to, *viz.*

Received by the ship owners, for freight homewards, about	£.	560,000
Underwriters, for insurance		150,000

A a 2

Received

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK VI. Another mode proposed by their lordships of ascertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchase on its annual produce, it being, they observe, not unusual in the West Indies, to sell estates at that price. I think that the sale of West Indian estates at *ten* years purchase, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at seven millions *per annum*, the result, by this mode of calculation, agrees precisely with that of the former; a circumstance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the subject will admit.

There yet remains to be added, a brief state of the shipping and seamen to which the sugar colonies directly give employment; and it appears that the number of vessels which in the year 1787 cleared from the several British West Indian islands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 men, being about nine seamen to every 100 tons: an extent of shipping nearly equal (as I have elsewhere observed) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the same time it is not to be overlooked, that the seamen so employed, being in constant service, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the seamen employed in the Newfoundland fishery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any sudden emer-

Received by the British merchants and brokers, for commissions, &c.	£.	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including		
primage	—	95,000
	—	—
	—	1,037,000
	—	—
	gency,	

gency, be added to the naval force of the king-**C H A P.**
dom *.

III.

On a retrospect of the whole, it may be truly affirmed, that the British sugar islands in the West Indies, (different in all respects from colonies in northern latitudes) answer in every point of view, and if I mistake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purposes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time established. They furnish (as we have seen) a sure and exclusive market for the merchandize and manufactures of the mother country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds sterling. They produce to an immense value,

* The French writers state the number of ships employed in *their* West Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their seamen at 15,000. The following account of the average imports from the French sugar islands, and the duties paid thereon, was published in 1785, *viz.*

AVERAGE IMPORTS.

30,000 casks of sugar valued at	90,000,000	livres.
60 millions of pounds of coffee	45,000,000	
2 millions of pounds of indigo	18,000,000	
1½ million of pounds of cacao	1,000,000	
3 millions of pounds of cotton	6,000,000	
<hr/>		
Total	160,000,000	
<hr/>		

DUTIES.

Droits de domaine d'occident	5,600,000	livres.
Droits d'octroi à l'Amérique	7,344,000	
Duties on sugar refined in France	4,592,000	
Duties on coffee	750,000	
Duties on indigo	37,500	
<hr/>		
Total	18,323,500	
<hr/>		

and

BOOK VI. and in quantities not only sufficient for her own consumption, but also for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and most necessary commodities, none of which interfere in any respect with her own productions; and most of which, as I shall demonstrate hereafter, she cannot obtain on equal terms elsewhere:—accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of these articles from one part of her subjects to another part, not one shilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Lastly, they give such employment to her ships and seamen, as while it supports and increases her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the smallest degree to obstruct, but, on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore, that in estimating the value and importance of such a system, no just conclusions can be drawn, but by surveying it *comprehensively*, and *in all its parts*, considering its several branches as connected with, and dependant on each other, and even then, the sum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I shall consider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the British West Indies may be purchased cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furnish no argument against the propriety and necessity of settling colonies of our own; because it must be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment: that their colonists contribute in no degree, by the investment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the national wealth, nor, finally, do they give

give employment exclusively to British shipping. C H A P. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain III. is dependant on her colonial commerce, it is difficult to ascertain. If this trade be considered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fisheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a merchant navy on which the maritime strength of the kingdom so greatly depends, that we should cease to be a nation without it*.

* The following is a comparative view of the two greatest branches of the British commerce; the East and West Indian trades.

EAST INDIAN TRADE.

Capital employed. *Eighteen millions.*

Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. *One million and a half.*

Import sales by the company, and sales under licence. *Five millions.*

Duties paid to government, customs, &c. *Seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds.*

Chartered shipping of the company. *Eighty thousand tons.*

WEST INDIAN TRADE.

Capital employed. *Seventy millions.*

Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the several branches of supply, insurance, &c. *Three millions eight hundred thousand pounds.*

Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and shipped to other parts, the profits of which center in Great Britain. *Seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.*

Duties paid to government. *One million eight hundred thousand pounds.*

Shipping employed direct. *One hundred and fifty thousand tons.*

But the great difference arises from the circumstance that the trade to the West Indies is carried on with our own colonial possessions, which the settlements in the East never were, nor ever can, be considered.

C H A P. IV.

Trade between the British West Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages resulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Measures adopted by Government on the Re-establishment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the West Indies.—Opposition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Destruction of Negroes in the West Indies in consequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Present State and Value of the Trade between the British West Indies and the remaining British Provinces in America.—The same with the United States of America.—Inference from the Whole.

BOOK VI. HAVING purposely reserved for separate discussion, the commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and North America, I shall now proceed to investigate its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the late unfortunate civil war: and offer some considerations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and restrictions (as they affected the sugar islands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in consequence of the acknowledgment of American independency: after which,

which, I shall endeavour to furnish an account of **C H A P.** the present state of the West Indian trade, both **IV.** with the United States, and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britain.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called less for restraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the West Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffic calculated to answer the fantastic calls of vanity, or to administer gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furnish materials (scarce less important than food) for supplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief staple productions, sugar and rum. Of the necessity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the statement in the preceding chapter of the importation of those commodities into Great Britain; the cultivation of which must absolutely have stopped without the means of conveying them to market.

For the supply of those essential articles, lumber, fish, flour, and grain, America seems to have been happily fitted, as well from internal circumstances, as her commodious situation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourse with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our sugar plantations in a great measure owe their prosperity; inasmuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge *, if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the English precluded from all com-

* Mr. Long.

merce

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK of commerce or intercourse with it, it is a very doubtful
 VI. point, whether, in such case, we should at this
 hour have possessed a single acre of land in the
 West Indies.

The following is an official account of the total import from North America into the British West Indian islands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, attested by Mr. Stanley, secretary to the commissioners of customs in London, dated the 15th of March, 1775.

An ACCOUNT of the total Import from North America into the British West Indian Islands, in the Years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber,	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles,	No.	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves,	No.	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops,	No.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn,	Bushs.	1,204,389	24	
Pease and Beans,	Do.	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour,	Bbls.	396,329	991	
Ditto,	Kegs	13,099		
Rice,	Bbls.	39,912		
Ditto,	Tierces	21,777		
Fish,	Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto,	Bbls.	47,686	664	202
Ditto,	Quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto,	Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork,	Bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry,	Dozs.	2,739	10	
Horses,	No.	7,130	28	
Oxen,	No.	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs,	No.	13,815		
Oil,	Bbls.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine,	Do.	17,024		
Masts,	No.		157	
Spars,	No.	3,074		30

Shook

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfound- land.	C H A P. IV.
Shook Casks	No.	53,857		40	141
Soap and Candles,	Boxes	20,475			
Ox Bows and Yokes,	No.	1,540			
House Frames,	No.	620			
Iron,	Tons	399 $\frac{1}{4}$			

Of this great supply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £.2,160,000 sterling, or £.720,000 annually; consisting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to observe, that the vessels employed in this trade (which were generally sloops and schooners, single-decked, and without topmasts) commonly made two, and sometimes three voyages in the year; so that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 seamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was estimated at about 1,000. Thus, the shortness and cheapness of the navigation in a great degree supported the trade.

The chief articles with which the British West Indian islands supplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were sugar, rum, molasses, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually shipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years, was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of molasses was 250,000 gallons. This last may be considered as so much additional rum, each gallon of molasses producing an equal quantity of spirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual supply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The supply of sugar was estimated at 5,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; and of coffee, at about 400,000 lbs. The value of the whole (including some other small articles) was £.420,000 sterling, leaving a balance of £.300,000 in

BOOK in favour of the Americans, which was commonly
VI. paid in dollars, or bills of exchange, furnishing
them so far with the means of remittance to Great
Britain, in reduction of their debts to the British
merchants.

From this account of the exports from the British West Indies to the continental colonies, it appears that America, besides affording an inexhaustible source of supply, was also a sure market for the disposal of the planters' *surplus* productions; such, I mean, for which there was no sufficient vent in Europe, especially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, having been little more than half the quantity consumed in America. On whatever fide therefore this trade is considered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits resulting from it; for the sugar planters, by being cheaply and regularly supplied with horses, provisions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the system of management not only most advantageous to themselves, but also to the mother country. Much of that land which otherwise must have been applied to the cultivation of provisions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raising of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. By this means the quantity of sugar and rum (the most profitable of their staples) had increased to a surprising degree, and the British revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal so much the more largely with the mother country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger sum than their returns of tobacco,

bacco, indigo, rice, and naval stores were sufficient to discharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the West Indies, foreign as well as British; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was just as advantageous to her, as if the sugar planter himself had been the purchaser to the same amount, instead of the American.

Such having been the nature, necessity, and advantage of this commercial intercourse, there was certainly every reason to expect that, on the termination of hostilities, the system which had unavoidably been interrupted and deranged during the war, would revive as of course, and be re-established under every possible encouragement.

By what means this reasonable expectation proved ill-founded and abortive, and the fatal consequences which flowed from the measures resorted to by the British government, I shall now proceed to point out.

The preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles, on the 27th of January, 1783; soon after which, the House of Commons having passed a vote of censure on the treaty (with what regard to justice or consistency, it is not my business at present to inquire) this event was followed by the resignation of the ministry by whom the treaty was adjusted. The new administration, it may be presumed, had too many objects to attend to, on their first elevation to power, to find leisure for considering the business of a commercial treaty with America. As, however, it was indispensably necessary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had existed during the war, this was done by an act passed for that purpose; but as to the rest, parliament

BOOK parliament took the shortest course possible to
 VI. save themselves trouble, by vesting in the crown,
 for a limited time, authority to regulate the com-
 mercial with America in such manner as his Majesty
 in council should deem expedient *.

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that such extensive authority should be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumstance, nor the proclamation, or order of council, that issued in consequence of it, on the 2d of July, 1783 (afterwards renewed annually) excited much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the British West Indies of every species of naval stores, staves, and lumber, live-stock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American states, was confined to British ships legally navigated ; and the export to those states of West Indian productions, was made subject to the same restriction ; while many necessary articles (as salted beef and pork, fish, and train oil) formerly supplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was considered as a measure merely temporary and experimental ; and until a plan of permanent regulation should be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitic nor unjust, that Great Britain should reserve in her own hands the power of restraining or relaxing her system of commercial arrangements, as circumstances might arise to render the exercise of such a power prudent and necessary.

In these reasons the West Indian merchants, and such of the planters as were resident in Great Britain, acquiesced ; but on the first meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the British administration) the business of a commercial in-

* Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

tercourse

tercourse between the West Indies and the States C H A P. of America, pressed itself on the attention of IV. government with a force which was not to be resisted. Petitions, complaints, and remonstrances, were poured in from almost every island in the West Indies. Some of the petitioners represented that they had not six weeks provisions in store, and all of them anticipated the most dreadful consequences, if the system of restriction should be much longer persisted in; expecting nothing less than a general revolt of their slaves, in the apprehension of perishing of hunger.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, especially such of the new settlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promised to themselves the acquisition of sudden and immense riches from the vast advance of price which it was foreseen their few exports, when no longer depressed by competition, would obtain at those markets. Every exertion, public and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince administration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to satisfy the public, that the West Indies might be very amply supplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Island of Saint John. Hence they not only strenuously recommended a steady adherence to the system of restriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expressed their wishes, that the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, British ships from trading in the ports of America. They declared, that such a determination on the part of the United States, would at once raise Canada and Nova Scotia from the ground, and execute that measure which wise men wish for, "as the system that Great Britain
" ought

BOOK "ought spontaneously to adopt *;" meaning, I presume, to cut off all intercourse whatever with her late revolted subjects. The complaints and remonstrances of the West Indians, they treated as the turbulence of disappointed faction. They accused them, while "wallowing in wealth," of having abetted the American rebellion †, and their apprehensions of a scarcity of food were spurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive in these, and similar arguments, a lurking taint of resentment and malignity, the relics of former provocation against the Americans; and at least as ardent a desire to wound the new republic, through the sides of the West Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expence. These passions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another, and a numerous class of people, who stood forward on this occasion, in support of the system of restriction and monopoly, on different ground: these were the shipbuilders, ship owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ships were suffered to take sugar from our islands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us, of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alledged, enter into a competition with British ships for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was answered, that a limitation of tonnage to ships employed in the American intercourse, to which the planters would not object, confining it to vessels having only one deck, and not exceeding seventy or eighty tons, must satisfy the most

* See Mr. Chalmers's Tract, entitled, "Opinions on Interesting Subjects," &c. † Ibid.

scrupulous

scrupulous on that head; inasmuch as such vessels C H A P. could never be employed in transporting sugar IV. across the Atlantic, nor could they be got insured if such attempts should be made. But although this answer must have satisfied every well-informed and considerate person, it was found insufficient to silence the clamour which at that time was industriously propagated on the subject of the carrying trade, as if the future existence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the discussion.

The consideration of the whole matter was referred by the minister to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the West Indian merchants and planters, resident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the subject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the sugar planters, that, on every principle of honour, humanity, and justice, the unfortunate loyalists of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to a preference of their custom, provided those provinces possessed, in any degree, the means of supplying their wants; but this, they contended, was the main point in dispute. They therefore requested, that before any permanent regulations should be adopted by government, inquiry might be made, 1st. How much of the annual consumption of American staples, those provinces had supplied hitherto? And, 2dly. how far, from their present, or probably future, situation, they might be supposed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

Such an inquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the subject; when it appeared, from the custom-house returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and pro-

BOOKS imported from North America into the
VI. British sugar colonies, in 1772, only seven of
those cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topsail vessels, and 1681 sloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the British and foreign West Indies, only two of the topsail vessels, and eleven of the sloops, were from those provinces. It stood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the supplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole consumption of the sugar islands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the second ground of inquiry, it was shewn respecting Canada, not only that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was so greatly obstructed by the ice in the winter, and by westerly winds in the summer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable; but that in the province itself, the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the scarcity in Canada had been such, as to occasion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was shewn that, at the very time of the inquiry, a ship in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable seasons (as in 1774) there might sometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and sufficient supply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of disappointment must prove an insurmountable obstruction to new inhabitants settling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was such, as to cut off all hopes of supply

supply from thence, even if the navigation had been subject to no delay and obstacle whatever. C H A P. IV.

Respecting Nova Scotia, it was shewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain sufficient for the sustenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and so far from having any to export, it appeared that a considerable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the opposite side of the bay of Fundy, to enable the new settlers at Port Roseway to build houses for their own residence.

Lastly, as to the island of Saint John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furnished food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the island. Its situation, within the gulph of Saint Lawrence, shut it up from all intercourse during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even those of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

The advocates for the prohibitory system, however, were not easily silenced. They declared it would be more for the interest of Great Britain, that the West Indians should be deprived of American supplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American vessels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republic. They maintained, that the sugar islands had resources within themselves, which, with occasional aid from Great Britain, might enable them to exist very comfortably, even though the accustomed intercourse with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly asked, in what manner

BOOK VI. *ner were they supported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was suppressed?*

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the British sugar islands, during the war, had been very badly supplied, both with lumber and provisions; and at an expence which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being supplied at all. Their chief resource was the American vessels that had been captured in their way to the French islands; a resource which had terminated with the war, and at best proved so uncertain and inadequate, that many of the British islands had been driven by necessity to the worst of all applications (as British colonists) of their labour; the raising provisions, and cutting lumber upon their own estates. Instead of directing their attention to the culture of those valuable and bulky staples which contribute, in so eminent a degree, to form the dignified mass of support which the British navigation derives from her distant colonies, they had been compelled to change their system: They had abandoned the cultivation of sugar, and applied their land and labour to the purposes of raising food. In what degree the British navigation and commerce had suffered by this measure, the custom-house books would demonstrate:—From that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the sugar islands, the import of sugar into England only, had fallen short of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; in value nearly one million, creating a loss in freight of £.150,000 on that article alone, and a defalcation in the public revenue of £.300 a day, for every day in the year! Here then, it was said, was a full and satisfactory

factory refutation of the popular clamour on the C H A P. subject of the carrying trade. Compared with these losses, and their consequences to every part of the empire, so inconsiderable, so truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American shallops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houses, that it seemed not to be an object deserving a moment's solicitude in the breast of a great nation.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the West Indies; and if the question had met with unprejudiced and temperate discussion, I am inclined to think, notwithstanding the jealous and monopolizing spirit of traffic, that regulations widely different from the present system of restriction and exclusion towards America, would have been established; but, unfortunately, the private interests of some, and the prejudices and passions of others, were allowed to mingle in the investigation. I am aware that, in common cases, it ill becomes an undistinguished individual to arraign the wisdom and propriety of the national councils; but although there is a degree of respect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preserve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the suppression of truth. The consequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occasion, will presently be seen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To suppress facts, therefore, in which the interests of humanity are so deeply concerned, is to sacrifice both the dignity and utility of history; the great end of which is to make the errors and misconduct of one set of men, a lesson and a warning to their successors.

The

BOOK VI. The case was, to speak plainly and undisguisedly, that the committee of council, to whom the consideration of this important business devolved (with the best intentions I believe, for it cannot be supposed that they wished to injure the West Indian colonies) suffered themselves to be guided in their researches by men who had resentments to gratify, and secret purposes to promote. Some of these, were persons whom America had proscribed for their loyalty, and unjustly deprived of their possessions. That they had become, on this account, objects of compassion, and claimants on the public of Great Britain, I have no wish to deny; but, without doubt, they were the last men in the world whose opinions should have been adopted, concerning the establishment of a system of reciprocity and conveniency between this country, and that which they had left. To suppose that such men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiassed testimony in such a case, is to suppose they had divested themselves of the common feelings of mankind.

The first inquiries of the committee of council (thus influenced) were directed to disprove the assertions contained in an address of the assembly of Jamaica, concerning the distress in which that island was stated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of provisions and lumber. Although those assertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and subsequent conduct of the governor himself, to whom the address was presented *; their lordships reported, that the assembly were by no means warranted in the strong terms they had used; it appearing, they said, "from private letters laid before them, that the scarcity complain-

* Sir Arch. Campbell.

ed of *did not exist.*" When their lordships were C H A P: humbly desired to communicate the names of IV. the parties who had written such letters, that some judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their testimony, against that of the legislature of the colony, they refused, with tokens of manifest displeasure, to disclose them.

Their lordships, in the next place, proceeded to estimate the resources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and, in contradiction to the evidence and conclusions which had been given and adduced by the West Indian merchants and planters, they asserted, in general terms, "that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increase, provided the West Indian market was secured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, "that several persons of great experience, were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 bushels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, might affect the supply of lumber, but denied that this circumstance would injure the trade in flour. They stated "that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to supply great quantities of lumber, and most of the other articles which the West Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly made and secured to the inhabitants; for that (although the sea coast is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a soil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, "that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new settlers were industrious, and that the neutral French who still remain (when no longer in a precarious state with

BOOK respect to the government under which they are VI. to live) would probably follow the example of the new settlers, and learn from them to improve the country; especially if due encouragement should be given to their industry, by securing them proper markets. Their lordships were further assured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increased.

Such a detail of probabilities, provisoës, and possible contingencies, with the mention, among other resources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, seemed, to the disappointed planters, something very like derision and mockery. They complained, that instead of assurances of relief, they were put off with airy conjectures, with frivolous *if's* and *may be's*; with promises inconsistent with the laws of nature, and with déclarations negatived both by experience and reason!

In truth, the argument which appeared to have most weight with their lordships themselves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and delusive) took for granted, that by excluding American ships from the ports of the West Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional vessels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone, at the annual sum of £.245,000 sterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee strongly recommended a strict and rigid adherence to the measure of confining the intercourse between our West Indian Islands and America, to British ships only, as a regulation of absolute necessity; considering any deviation from it, as exposing

exposing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted subjects, now become ill affected aliens. They expressed, indeed, some apprehension, lest the congress of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting in return British vessels from being the carriers between them and the British West Indies; but seemed to think this circumstance not very probable, inasmuch as the people of the United States would, in that case, they said, suffer much more than any of his Majesty's subjects; a conclusion not very decisive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that considerations of interest are frequently overpowered by motives of resentment.

These doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fullest extent by the British government; and the only solitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the West Indies was, that the apprehension of their lordships, concerning American retaliation, was ill founded; and that the United States, notwithstanding the prohibitory system of Great Britain, would still open their ports to British shipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the British sugar islands; carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foresee a very great expence, delay, and uncertainty, attending such circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to submit, as the only alternative of escaping inevitable and impending destruction.

But there was this misfortune attending the sugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever resources might ultimately be

BOOK be found in the opulence and faculties of the VI. mother country, it was impossible, in the nature of things, to expect from so distant a quarter an adequate supply to a vast and various demand, coming suddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the sugar islands too had suffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in consequence whereof (had it not been for the casual assistance obtained from prize vessels) one-half of their negroes must absolutely have perished of hunger. Should similar visitations occur, the most dreadful apprehensions would be realized ; and I am sorry to add, *that realized they were !*

I have now before me a report of a committee of the assembly of Jamaica, on the subject of the slave trade, wherein the loss of negroes in that island, in consequence of those awful concussions of nature, and the want of supplies from America, is incidently stated. It is a document of the best authority ; and the following extract from it, while it abundantly acquits the West Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occasion was illiberally brought against them, will, I hope, serve as an awful lesson to future ministers how they suffer the selfishness of party, and the prejudice of personal resentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

“ We shall now (say the committee) point out the principal causes to which this mortality of our slaves is justly chargeable. It is but too well known to the house, that in the several years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleased Divine Providence to visit this island with repeated hurricanes, which spread desolation throughout most parts of the island ; but the parishes which

which suffered more remarkably than the rest, C H A P. were those of Westmoreland, Hanover, Saint IV.

James, Trelawny, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the East. By these destructive visitations, the plantain walks, which furnish the chief article of support to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intense droughts which followed, destroyed those different species of ground provisions which the hurricanes had not reached. The storms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign supplies, except a trifling assistance from prize-vessels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine ensued in the leeward parts of the island, which destroyed many thousand negroes. After the storm of the 30th of July, 1784, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his council, published a proclamation, dated the 7th of August, permitting the free importation of provisions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too short a time to give sufficient notice, and obtain all the supplies that were necessary, the small quantities of flour, rice, and other provisions, which were imported in consequence of the proclamation, soon rose to so exorbitant a price as to induce the assembly, on the 9th of November following, to present an address to the Lieutenant Governor, requesting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; observing, that it was impossible for the natural productions of the country to come to such maturity as to be wholesome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this address was presented, the Lieutenant Governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1st of December following, the house represented, that a prolongation of the term

BOOK term was then absolutely necessary : They observe
VI. that, persuaded of the reluctance with which his
honour would be brought to deviate from regulations
which he felt himself bound to observe, it would give them much concern to address him on the same occasion a second time, were they not convinced that it was in a case of such extreme necessity as to justify such a deviation. Accordingly, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his Majesty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited should be extended to the 31st of January then next ensuing (1785) : but, at the same time, he informed the house, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been established in Great Britain.

From the 31st of January, 1785, therefore, the ports continued shut, and the sufferings of the poor negroes, in consequence thereof, for some months afterwards, were extreme : Providentially, the seasons became more favourable about May, and considerable quantities of corn and ground provisions were gathered in by the month of August ; when the fourth storm happened, and the Lieutenant Governor immediately shut the ports against the exportation of any of our provisions to the French and Spanish islands, which were supposed to have suffered more than ourselves ; but not thinking himself at liberty to permit the importation of provisions in American vessels, the productions of the country were soon exhausted, and the usual attendants of scanty and unwholesome diet, dropsies and epidemic dysenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the spring and summer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

On

On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waste the leeward parishes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the consequences which followed, lest we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the subject will admit, the number of our slaves whose destruction may be fairly attributed to these repeated calamities, and the unfortunate measure of interdicting foreign supplies, and for this purpose compared the imports and returns of negroes for the last seven years, with those of seven years preceding, we hesitate not, after every allowance for adventitious causes, to fix the whole loss at fifteen thousand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787."

Such (without including the loss of negroes in the other islands, and the consequent diminution in their cultivation and returns) was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her exclusive right of supplying her sugar islands with food and necessaries! Common charity must compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proscription of so many thousand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor foreseen by those who recommended the measures that produced it. Certainly no such proof was wanting to demonstrate that the resentments of party too frequently supersede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in some measure furnish its own remedy: The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and

BOOK and labour to the raising of provisions, and the
 VI. hewing of staves, found some resource within
 themselves; and, happily for the other islands,
 the United States did not, as was apprehended,
 adopt any scheme of retaliation; so that British
 vessels ultimately obtained the profits of the car-
 riage (whatever it was) between the West Indies
 and America; and thus at length the system became
 recognized and confirmed by the legislature*.

But,

* By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April 1788, it is enacted, "That no goods or commodities whatever shall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his Majesty's West India Islands (in which description the Bahama Islands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Islands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be so imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, masts, yards, bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and lumber of any sort; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and live stock of any sort; bread, biscuit, flour, pease, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any sort, such commodities, respectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America: And that none of the goods or commodities herein before excepted, enumerated, and described, shall be imported or brought into any of the said islands from the territories of the said United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be so imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by British subjects and in British-built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law. By another clause, none of the aforesaid articles are to be brought from any of the foreign islands, under the like penalty, except in times of public emergency and distress, when the governors of any of our islands, with the advice and consent of the council, may authorize the importation of them by British subjects in British-built ships for a limited time." Such is the law as it now stands with regard

But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother country, from the regulations and arrangements which the British parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whose instance and for whose benefit, the scheme of exclusion and restriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of those advantages from the measure, which they had promised to themselves in the outset. They discovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river Saint Lawrence remained, as usual, locked up seven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice ; and Nova Scotia still continued devoted to inexorable sterility ; so much so indeed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently represented this province as being capable, in the course of three years, of supplying all the West Indies with lumber and provisions, found it necessary, at the end of those three years, to apply for and obtain the insertion of a clause in the prohibitory act, to authorise the admission of both lumber and provisions into that province from the United States. On this circumstance it is unnecessary to anticipate the reflections of the reader !

In consequence of this permission, there were shipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 staves and head-

gard to the import of American articles into the British West Indies : Concerning the export of British West Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in ships British-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatsoever, which were not, at the time of passing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and also sugar, mclasses, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento ; bond being given for the due landing of the same in the United States.

ing,

BOOKING, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, VI. and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 bushels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no surplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own consumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been resorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vanish all the golden dreams and delusive promises of a sufficient supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to answer the wants of the West Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret that I am unable to furnish the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from those provinces to the West Indies since the war (the report of the committee of council on the slave trade, though fraught with information in all other cases that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being silent on this head) or of the fish which they send annually to the sugar islands.—The quantity of this latter article imported into the British West Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both inclusive) was 80,645 quintals*.

The

* The imports into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, have been stated in a Report of the Assembly of that Island. The negative catalogue is very copious. No flour,—no ship-bread or biscuit, no Indian corn, or other meal,—no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only provisions were, one hundred and eighty bushels of potatoes, and 751 hogsheads and about 500 barrels of salted fish,—rather a scanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the space of nineteen months!—Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 shingles.—Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into

The exports, for the year 1787, from the British sugar islands to all our remaining American possessions, Newfoundland included, consisted of 9,891 cwt. of sugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of molasses, 200 lbs. of piemento, 575 cwt. of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and some small articles, fruit, &c. of little account; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £.100,506 17s. 10d. sterling, and the shipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 seamen.— As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men must be reduced one half.

To the United States of America the same year the exports in British shipping were these: 19,921 cwt. of sugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of molasses, 6,450 lbs. of piemento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

The value in sterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £.196,460 8s. as hath been stated in the former chapter *. The amount of the freight on these exports, and also on American productions supplied the West Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be said, that if she has lost much, she has gained nothing; but estimating her profit at the

into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogheads of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36 thousand of shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

* Number of vessels (including repeated voyages) 386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

BOOK utmost, to what does it amount, compared with VI. the cost of the purchase? Admitting it even to stand at the sum fixed by the committee of council *, how subordinate is such a consideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable existence of our sugar islands, the whole of whose acquirements center in the bosom of the mother country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fisheries, upholding the credit of her funds, supporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thousand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues, strength, wealth, and prosperity!

On the whole, it is a consideration of very serious importance, that the benefits of the present restraining system are by no means commensurate to the risk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of scarcity, may find some resource within herself, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, measures of retaliation; but it must always be remembered, that every one of the West Indian islands is occasionally subject to hurricanes, and many of them to excessive droughts, which, by destroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependence but on imported provisions supplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a scene of desolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again in the years 1773 and 1778. Should the same irresistible visitation overtake these unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters have no vessels of their own, and those of America are denied admittance into their ports,—how are even the most opulent among them to avert

* £245,000 sterling.

from

from their unhappy labourers the miseries of famine, which in a like case swept off such numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permission that is held out to the planters to resort, in time of emergency, to the foreign islands, it is so manifestly nugatory, that I choose not to speak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate*.

CHAP.
IV.

Compared with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceless Africans, the inconveniency which of late has been felt and com-

* Under the present limited intercourse with America (exclusive of the uncertainty of being supplied at all) the West Indians are subject to three sets of devouring monopolists. 1st. The British ship-owners. 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the islands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means those most essential necessaries, staves and lumber, have risen in price no less than 37 per cent. as the following comparative table will demonstrate:

Prices of staves, lumber, &c. at Kingston, Jamaica, during two periods; the first from 1772 to 1775 (both years inclusive) the second from 1788 to 1791.

	1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.
	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves per M.	8 —	8 —	8 10	9 —
White Oak Staves per M.	9 10	9 10	10 —	11 —
Pitch-pine Lumber per M.	8 —	9 —	9 10	10 —
Common Lumber per M.	6 10	7 10	8 10	9 10
22 Inch Shingles per M.	2 —	2 5	2 10	0 10
	1788.	1789.	1790.	1791.
	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves per M.	14 10	14 —	10 10	12 —
White Oak Staves per M.	15 —	15 —	11 —	12 —
Pitch-pine Lumber per M.	14 —	12 5	11 10	12 —
Common Lumber per M.	13 —	10 —	9 10	10 —
22 Inch Shingles per M.	3 —	3 —	2 15	2 15

BOOK plained of in Great Britain, from the high price VI. of West Indian commodities, deserves not the consideration of a moment. It is the necessary and unavoidable consequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumstance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this cause, more than to any other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been industriously excited against the planters, concerning their supposed ill usage of their negroes. Discontent at the high price of sugar, is called sympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconsistency can be more gross and lamentable! We accuse the planter of cruelty to his slaves, and contemplate at the same time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thousands of those unhappy people have already perished, and to which (I grieve to add) many thousands more will probably fall a sacrifice!

THE following Memorial from the Agent of Jamaica, to his Majesty's Ministers, presented during the investigation of the subject to which it relates, may serve to illustrate and explain what is obscure and deficient in some parts of the preceding discussion. It is scarce necessary to observe, after what has been related, that no answer was given.

The Representation of STEPHEN FULLER, Esquire, Agent for Jamaica, to his Majesty's Ministers.

THE agent of Jamaica, by the advice and approbation of the Right Honourable Lord Penryhn, Edward Long, and Bryan Edwards, Esquires, with whom he is directed, by the council and assembly, to consult, begs leave

leave to submit to the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, the following observations and propositions, on the subject of such part of the memorial and petition of the council and assembly to his Majesty, of the eleventh of December last, as relates to a limited intercourse between the British West Indies, and the United States of America, in American bottoms.

CHAP. IV.

The said agent conceives that it is no longer a question, whether the necessities of the British West Indian islands can be supplied by any other channel than that of the United States; the invincible law of absolute necessity (paramount to all other considerations) having lately induced the lieutenant governor and council of Jamaica to open the ports of that island to all American vessels, of all descriptions, by proclamation. The said memorialists have stated, that this measure was dictated, "solely by motives of self-preservation;" for they solemnly affirm, "that nothing but a reasonable participation in a trade with the United States, can, on many probable contingencies in future, prevent them from ruin and death."

It is presumed to be a fact, equally well established, that the necessities of the said islands cannot be supplied, in any degree adequate to their wants, even from the United States, unless in vessels actually belonging to the said States. The West Indian islands have few or no ships of their own; and were it even true, which the said agent by no means allows, that British vessels from hence might, by circuitous voyages, profitably transport lumber and provisions from the United States to the said islands, and so return to Great Britain with freights of sugar; yet the planters would be wholly unable to pay for lumber and provisions thus obtained; not only from the augmented cost thereof, but also, inasmuch as their rum, their chief resource for the purchase of necessaries, to the amount of upwards of half a million sterling, would still remain a dead weight on their hands: the consumption of rum in this kingdom, in the year 1783, not exceeding 505,150 gallons; although the quantity annually made in the British West Indian islands, for exportation, exceeds 7,700,000 gallons.

The agent, desirous of obviating all material objections, humbly offers to your consideration, the plan of a future

BOOK future intercourse between the said islands and the United States, of so strict and limited a nature, as, he presumes, VI. will not be controverted, even by those who have hitherto appeared most zealous for confining the trade of the West India islands to Great Britain and Ireland only.

First, The said agent humbly offers to your consideration, whether the intercourse requested by the West Indian planters, in American vessels, may not be confined to sloops and schooners only, having but one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of sixty tons. And, to obviate all suspicions of fraudulent measurement, whether the number of mariners in each vessel may not be limited to three white seamen, and as many negroes, or people of colour, so as not to exceed six in the whole ?

Secondly, Whereas, among the commodities formerly allowed to be imported into the British West Indian islands, the following were articles of considerable importance, viz. Bar iron—wax and spermaceti candles—train oil—hams—tongues—herrings—butter—cheese—soap—starch—tallow—salted beef and pork; of the latter, viz. salted beef and pork, the import into all the British West Indian islands, from the said states, in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, was 44,782 barrels, worth, at the ports of delivery, upwards of £.110,000 sterling money: it is submitted, that the planters in future, be restricted to the supplying themselves with all these articles of indispensable necessity from Great Britain and Ireland only; trusting nevertheless, that in adjusting the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, provision will be made, by the parliament of Ireland, for a reciprocal security to the West Indian planter, against the introduction of foreign West Indian produce into that kingdom, and against any augmentation of taxes upon the export of salt provisions from thence to the British West Indies.

Thirdly, As it has been urged, that granting permission to the subjects of the United States, to export raw sugars from the British West Indian islands, may interfere with the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland; whether this permission may not be restricted, in future, to clayed and refined sugars only?

Fourthly, As to hides and skins, cotton wool, indigo, logwood, fustic, and other dyers woods; whether the export

export thereof, to the United States, from the British CHAP. plantations, should not be prohibited altogether ? IV.

Fifthly, In order that all reasonable encouragement may be shewn to the British settlers in our remaining provinces of North America; and to demonstrate, that the sugar planters are sincerely disposed to give them the preference of their custom, whenever, by the increase of people, or the progress of cultivation, they shall be actually enabled to supply our wants, in part or in total; whether the measures now submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, if adopted by parliament, may not be in force for a probationary period only, to commence the first day of July next?

By means of a system of this kind, the imports from the United States, into the British West Indies, will be confined in future to working cattle, lumber, and provisions only; and of the latter, to such species alone, as it is on all hands admitted that Great Britain, Ireland, and our remaining provinces, cannot immediately furnish, in a quantity by any means adequate to the demand.—The American navigation sufficient for this purpose, must, by the exclusion of so many articles, necessarily be in proportion diminished. It appears by the report of the Right Honourable the Committee of Council, that the number of vessels, both American and British, formerly employed in a direct intercourse between the West Indian islands and North America, never exceed 533, and the seamen employed therein 3,339; of which 1,000 at least, it is conceived, were negro slaves, or people of colour. On the plan now proposed, it is probable, considering the consequent diminution of the number of vessels, that the whole number of white seamen so employed in future, would not exceed twelve hundred. And what policy can be more dreadful, than that, which, in order to distract so insignificant a handful of people, should put the whole of the sugar islands, containing 500,000 inhabitants, to the risque of destruction?

It is hot for the agent to suppose, that it can ever be deemed expedient, rather to connive at a clandestine, than authorize an open intercourse; but he will be allowed to express his most serious apprehensions of the mischiefs which seems to threaten his constituents. The French government, as he is informed, having lately

established

BOOK VI. established no less than seven free ports in their islands, for the admission, in foreign vessels, of lumber and live stock of every species, salted beef, and fish, he fears, that if the British planters cannot obtain their necessaries, in any thing like a sufficient quantity, by a licensed mode of intercourse in British vessels, they must procure them by illicit means, or discontinue the cultivation of their lands. And that, as the vicinity of the French islands promises to facilitate a clandestine introduction of supplies, they will probably obtain them from the United States, for the most part, through the medium of the French islands, and in French bottoms. In this event, the French free ports may become the great emporiums for these articles, and gain a profit upon their customers, in proportion to the magnitude of the risque, and the demand; French seamen may be employed (more formidable of the two than American); the British planters become dependants on their rivals; the plantations, the commerce, and the marine of France, may derive from this fatal cause a rapid improvement and grandeur; whilst the British interests, in that part of the empire, are sinking with equal rapidity into annihilation.

STEPHEN FULLER.

March 8, 1785.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Charges brought against the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Design of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the British Plantations was improvident and unwise.—Testimony of the Inspector General on this Subject, and Animadversions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a distinct Interest between Great Britain and her Sugar Islands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals arising from those Islands considered separately.—Opinions of Postlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on West Indian Commodities imported fall on the Consumer, and in what Cases?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of those Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonstrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Restrictions on the Colonists enumerated; and the Benefits resulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illustrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the West Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the British Consumption.—Unjust Clamours raised in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the West Indian Staples.—Project of establishing Sugar Plantations in the East Indies under the Protection of Government considered.—Remonstrance which might be offered against this and other Measures.—Conclusion.

AFTER so copious a display as hath been given C H A P. of the prodigiously increased value of these important islands, during the space of a century V. and

BOOK and a half, which have nearly elapsed since their VI. first settlement, it may be supposed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithstanding the proceedings on which I have presumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindness and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have sometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their staples, have been equally ungrateful and unjust; the fastidious peevishness of opulent folly, and forfeited prosperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently urged against the planters of the West Indies, with a spirit of bitterness and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a small degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the splendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them resident in Great Britain) is blended in the accusation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occasions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, supported as they are by persons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by ministers, and carried from the national councils into measures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general massacre of our whole system of colonization.

Of these doctrines and opinions, so far as they concern the British plantations in the West Indies, the following is a fair abstract and abridgment:

First, That the sugar islands have been settled by British capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly,

Secondly, That the money expended upon ~~CHAP.~~ West Indian estates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inasmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner so much as six per cent. on his capital, after payment of expences.

Thirdly, That the duties on West Indian commodities fall altogether on the consumer.

Fourthly, That the several prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the consumption of British West Indian produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have vested in the planters a complete monopoly of the British market, at the cost, and to the manifest injury, of the British consumer, who might otherwise purchase sugars, &c. from the foreign islands, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than in those of Great Britain.

Fifthly, That from this great disparity of price between British and foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain, by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the Exchequer; the British exporter being otherwise unable to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market:—a policy, which is pronounced to be dangerous and destructive.

The inference which is drawn from these premises is plainly this; that, considering the expense of protecting them in war, the settlement of sugar plantations in the West Indies was improvident and unwise; and that their further extension and improvement would not promote the general interests of the British empire.

It is probable that these, and similar notions of the same tendency, but of more extensive application, were originally disseminated with no other view,

BOOK view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial settlements, to reconcile the nation to those rash and inconsiderate proceedings, which terminated in the loss of America. They have had their day; and, like other speculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been consigned, without injury, to oblivion. It is therefore with a considerable degree of surprise, that in the course of a late investigation by a committee of the house of commons, I perceive an attempt has been made to revive and establish most of them, by a person, whose public situation, as inspector general of the exports and imports of Great Britain, may be supposed to give great weight to his opinions *. Of the value of this office, as affording an inexhaustible source of important and accurate information in the various branches of the British commerce, I have spoken, I hope, with due respect, in former parts of this work; but in mere speculative points, not clearly founded on matters of fact, the opinions of the officer himself, whoever he may be, carry no further degree of authority than in proportion to the weight of reasoning which accompanies them. Of this nature are the several theorems before stated. They are matters of opinion only; in some respects incapable of proof (as the first proposition for instance) and in others, where proof is attempted, they generate conclusions widely different from those which are drawn from the facts adduced in their support. As, however, the manifest aim of such doctrines is to

* See the evidence of Thomas Irving, Esquire, before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed to examine witnesses on the slave trade, reported 7th April, 1791, from whence I have extracted most of the doctrines animadverted upon in the text, and chiefly in his own words.

induce the legislature to adopt measures that in C H A P. their consequences may check and impede the V. further progres of the colonists in a line of cultivation, in which, under the expref's encouragement of government, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their facul- ties, it becomes necessary, in a work of this kind, to consider them with some degree of attention.

It might indeed be alledged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expose the nakedness of that doctrine which affects to consider the sugar islands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and simple display of the produc- tions which they furnish, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the shipping to which they give employment. And such a display hath already been exhibited in the pre- ceding chapters: but, unfortunately, there pre- vail many popular prejudices against the colonies, which are difficult to remove, because they are founded not in reason but selfishnes. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by recalling to the public attention, such established principles and facts as, being built on experience, neither sophistry can perplex, nor self-interest elude.

In most of the late speculative systems that I have seen, which have treated of the British colo- nies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their interests in general are consider- ed as distinct from, and in some respects opposed to, the general interests of the empire. We speak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their in- habitants as *our* subjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a spirit of rivalry or jealousy, as an unconnected or hostile people, whose

BOOK whose prosperity is our detriment, and whose gain
VI. is our loss.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, concerning New England, and some other of the colonies in North America; but none of those writers ever considered the plantations in the West Indies in the same point of view. This necessary distinction, between colonies in northern and southern latitudes, seems however to have escaped the recollection of the inspector general; for although he admits that the money which is vested in the sugar islands, is in fact British property, yet he forgets that the profits and returns arising from it, center in Great Britain, and no where else. Generally speaking, the sugar planters are but so many agents or stewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother country; or if, in some few instances, they are independent proprietors themselves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately vested. The produce of the sugar islands therefore, ought, in all reason, to be considered as standing precisely on the same footing with the produce of the mother country. The sugar made in them is raised by British subjects, and the sale of it (as far as it can answer any profitable purpose to Great Britain) confined to the British market. In the actual consumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it costs is only transferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price high or low, the nation at large is not one shilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is consumed at home, the value is saved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid

paid for by foreigners, the amount is so much C H A P. clear gain to the kingdom *. V.

Neither ought the national profits arising from their cultivation, to be estimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the several individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her sugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators consists only of the very small proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commissions to the British merchants, and the interest of their debts to British creditors. It is indeed very possible that a concern may be lucrative to the public, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thousand ways from her plantations in the West Indies, no man of common sense or common candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already assigned, gave birth to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the same time, suffered considerably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to dispute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is

* It is the practice with some writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to consider every branch of it as unfavourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports; that is, they strike a balance on the Custom-house entries, and consider the excess either way, as the measure of the national advantages, or disadvantages, of such a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to most branches of foreign commerce (rightly so called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the East Indies; but from what has been said in the text, the reader will perceive the gross absurdity of bringing our intercourse with the West Indies to the same standard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to* them, is to be considered as the measure of their value.

the

BOOK the very prevalent idea which I have before slightly noticed, that all the products of the British West Indies, and more especially the great article of sugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than those of the foreign plantations. Against this circumstance (if it were well founded) it might seem sufficient to oppose the national benefit arising generally from the whole system; but the consumer, mindful of himself only, conceives that he ought to have permission to purchase sugar at the cheapest rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whose aim it is to buy cheap and sell dear, claims the same privilege; to which indeed there would be less objection, if he would consent that another part of his fellow subjects, the growers of the commodity, should enjoy the same freedom from commercial restraint which he requires for himself. Unluckily however, the main fact is altogether destitute of foundation. The existence of such disparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations, is neither true nor possible, as is demonstrated by the magnitude of the British export, both of raw and refined sugar, for the supply of foreign markets; it requiring no great effort to prove, that foreigners would not resort to our market for the purchase of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home*. There was a time

* Respecting the French sugar islands, I can speak of my own knowledge. Most of their largest planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay less attention to the manufacture of good *muscavado* than is given to it in our islands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be sold proportionably cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodness, the price also is equal, and sometimes higher. Of twelve samples of muscavado sugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the best quality of *sucré brut* made in

time certainly, when England was herself compelled to purchase of foreign nations, and at their own prices, many articles of prime necessity, for a supply of which, those very nations now resort to the British market. "Before the settlement of our colonies (says Postlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days, we had not only our naval stores, but our ships, from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from France. Portugal supplied us with sugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East

in that island, I could not honestly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am persuaded I could have purchased better sugars in Jamaica at a less price than was asked for those. This was in 1791, soon after the revolt of the slaves, when it might have been supposed that the distresses of the French planters would have compelled them to sell their sugars more reasonably than they had done for several years before. In fact, the only *datum* for ascertaining the relative value of foreign and British sugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; instead of which, the price always referred to, is the *price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original cost. The not attending to this necessary distinction, has probably given rise to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occasioned more ill-will and groundless complaint against the British sugar planter, than any other circumstance. While I am on this subject it may not be improper to take some notice of the disparity between the profits obtained on their sugar by the British and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publication of character, * the author states the whole year's import into France on an average at

130,000 casks, valued at 90 million of livres, equal to — — — £. 3,937,500 sterl.

* *Réflexions d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785.*

BOOK East Indies, *at their own price.*" The same account is confirmed by Sir Josiah Child. "Portuguese sugar (says this author) before we had plantations

Against this value he sets the duties and imposts, *viz.*

Livres.

Duties of the western domain	5,600,000	£. 245,000
Ditto in the West Indies	7,344,000	<u>321,300</u>

Ditto on 50,000 casks consumed or refined in France }	<u>4,592,000</u>	566,300
		<u>200,900</u>

Total of imposts and duties, including the charges of Government, civil and military, in the islands }	—	767,200
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According to this statement, these sugars are valued, per cask, at	30 5 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
And the duties thereon estimated at	— 5 8 0

Leaves, clear of duties,	24 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	sterling money.
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Let us now look to British sugars.

I suppose 14 cwt. a good average weight per cask at sale, and that 2l. 5s. per cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty, &c. included) for several years previous to the revolt of the slaves in St. Domingo:

I compute the public charges, civil and military, paid in our Islands by grant of assembly, at not less than 200,000*l.* *per annum*:

And that this rests as a charge upon their sugars of about two shillings *per cwt.*

The amount of these colonial imposts upon a cask of 14 cwt. will therefore be

The British duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12 <i>s.</i> 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i> <i>per cwt.</i>	£. 1 8 0
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In all, per Cask	£. 10 0 0
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Then,

tations of our own, sold for seven and eight pounds C H A P. V.
sterling the quintal or cwt.;" and it is a remarkable and well known circumstance, after that the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica, was suppressed by an exorbitant duty of near £.20 the hundred weight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies, £.200,000 annually for this commodity, so essential to a great variety of her most important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, sometime after, substituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and succeeding in the culture of this valuable plant, supplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards (receiving too our manufactures in payment), not only the British consumption, but also enabled Great Britain to export a surplus at an advanced price to foreign markets.

Then, supposing the gross value of one cask of 14 per cwt. at 45s. per cwt. to be	£. 31 10 0
Deduct public imposts and duties	10 0 0
Leaves	£. 21 10 0

N. B. 5l. 8s. (the French duties) is rather less than 18 per cent. on the value, and 10l. the imposts and duties paid by the British planters, is $31\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of 100l. value of the French planter's sugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, 82l.—But to the British planter, out of his sugar, no more than 68l. 5s.—and although the gross apparent value of the British planter's hogshead of sugar is higher than that of the French planter's by 1l. 4s. 3d. yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, less than the other by 3l. 7s. 9d.—This superior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expence than the English—circumstances which probably make the scale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

BOOK VI. If these writers then were well informed, and the commercial world has thought highly of their industry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is easily said) that the settlement of the British sugar plantations was unwise or improvident; nor will it be found very easy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit.— Against advantages of such magnitude and permanence as I have shewn to result from those colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loss to individuals in the plantations, by improvident schemes in the outset, or improper conduct in their subsequent pursuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is sometimes sustained by the purchasers and consumers at home, from an occasional advance of price in some few of the colonial products, outweighs in the scale of reason a feather!

It is evident therefore, that the inspector general, in the testimony which he gave to the House of Commons, had not investigated the subject with his usual accuracy and discernment. In the first place, he appears not to have sufficiently adverted to the nature of West Indian property as British capital, and the application and disposal of its profits as augmenting the national stock; and in the second, he has evidently regarded as one and the same, two objects, which have seldom any affinity, and are sometimes extremely different in their nature, namely, the national gains arising from the whole system, and the profits of individuals in the narrow walk of colonial agriculture. I shall now proceed to consider those positions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are

are granted on the products of the British sugar CHAP. islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely V. of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption of sugar, and other articles. The subject is naturally dry, and not susceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be disputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whose principles are less understood than those of the compact last mentioned.

The points to be considered are briefly comprised in the following objections:—It is asserted,

First, That the duties which are levied on the products of the British West Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the first instance by the proprietor or importer, ultimately fall on the consumer, and on him alone *.

Secondly,

* The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of West Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America;

DUTIES payable upon IMPORTATION into GREAT BRITAIN of the produce of the British West Indies, agreeable to the Consolidated Act, most of which are drawn back upon Exportation.

		£.	s.	d.
Refined sugar, cwt.	- - -	4	18	8
Musc. sugar,	- - -	0	15	0
Rum, per gallon, customs 5d. excise				
4 ^l . 3d.	- - -	0	4	8
Pimento, per lb.	- - -	0	0	3
Indigo, mahogany, Nicaragua wood, logwood, lignumvitæ, and fustic, free				
* Coffee, per cwt.	- - -	0	3	6

* If the Coffee is for home consumption, it pays a further duty of £. 3. 15s. per cwt. to the customs, and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. to the excise.—Cocoa also, if for home consumption, pays 12s. 6d. per cwt.—excise 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.

Cocoa,

HISTORY OF THE

BOOK Secondly, That the practice of allowing draw-backs on their re-export, is dangerous and destructive.

VI. Thirdly,

	£.	s.	d.
Cocoa, ditto	0	1	3
Ginger, black or white, per cwt.	0	11	0
Cotton, from any place in British bottoms, free.			
Gum Guaiacum,	0	0	9
Jalap	0	0	9
Aloes, per cwt.	6	10	8
Sarsaparilla, per lb.	0	0	8
Tamarinds, red, cwt.	1	0	6

*Import of the UNITED STATES upon West INDIAN PRO-
DUCE.*

	Cents
Distilled spirits if more than ten per cent. below proof, per gallon	20
If more than five, and not more than ten per cent. below	21
If of proof, and not more than five per cent. below	22
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty per cent.	25
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty per cent. above proof	30
If of more than forty per cent. above proof	40
Brown sugar	1½
Melasses	3
Coffee, per pound	4
Cocoa	1
Pimento	4
Indigo	25
Cotton	3
Tonnage on foreign vessels per ton	50

N. B. One hundred Cents is equal to a Spanish Dollar.

Not less than 50 Gals. to be imported into the United States.

* * An addition of ten *per centum* to be made to the several rates of duties before specified and imposed, excepting rum, which shall be imported in ships or vessels not of the United States.

John Brown

Thirdly, That the monopoly of supply vested in the planters is partial, oppressive, and unjust. CHAP. V.

I shall consider these several positions in the order in which I have placed them. The investigation of them is necessary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general observations, will conclude my labours.

If daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the selfish prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the first of these positions (in the full extent to which it is carried) should ever be seriously repeated, after the clear and unanswerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the press, a thousand times; and what is more, by sad experience in a thousand instances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or interested men, it is the duty of the planters to give it attention; and although they may have nothing new to offer on a question which has been so frequently and fully investigated, they have no reason on that account to be silent; inasmuch as the doctrine itself has not, unfortunately, the grace of novelty to recommend it.

The planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematics more incontestable than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market, depends entirely on their plenty or scarcity, in proportion to*

☞ Brown or Muscovado sugar, *not* of the British plantations, is subject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a duty of £.1 7s. 2d. and white or clayed sugar of foreign growth to £.2 5s. 6d. the cwt.; East Indian sugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays £.37 16s. 3d. per cent. *ad valorem*. It is all white or clayed sugar.

the

BOOK *the demand or consumption.*—If the quantity at VI. market is not equal to the demand, the seller, ~~undoubtedly~~ can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market generally exceeds the vent or demand, then it is absolutely out of the seller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will necessarily keep it down in spite of his utmost endeavours to raise it.

The truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter case the original cost of the goods, and all subsequent charges thereon, such as freight, warehouse rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminishes the profits of the seller. If the demand be great, and the quantity small, the seller has sometimes an opportunity not only of reimbursing himself the original cost, and all subsequent charges and duties, but likewise of making great profit besides. Reverse the circumstances, and he finds himself a considerable loser. All this is the necessary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only prosperous as it contrives *to feed the market* properly; or, in other words, to make the supply no more than adequate to the demand: Thus the taxes on leather, soap, candles, malt, beer, and spirits, by enhancing the price to, may be said to fall on, the consumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, so they proportion the supply to the demand, and bring to market no more than sufficient to answer the consumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they cease to deal in those commodities.

It is the same in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign

reign nations, over whose exports we have no control. The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the British market for the commodity; and ceases to import such goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, after the duty and all other charges are reimbursed.

CH A P.

V.

But, in the case of articles which the situation or necessities of the owner bring to sale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impossible that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market, can have any effect on the price; for the price arises from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be absurd to say the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminish.— Thus, when wheat is scarce, the price rises; and two or three good harvests make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3s. or 4s. and without any regard to the farmer's expences. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price until the stock is lessened by exportation or otherwise, to such a quantity as is barely sufficient for home consumption. Hops, hay, cyder, and a thousand other commodities, are subject to the same rule.

Such too is precisely the situation of the West Indian planters: they are compelled to send their goods to market, or starve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to resort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore when brought to sale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or less supply necessarily and naturally creates. The consumers of sugar neither care for, nor enquire after its original cost, or the duties and charges which it has

BOOK has paid in its way to market. The importer VI. however must pay the duties before he can bring ~~his~~ his sugar to sale, for no man will buy unless the duty is first cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have observed, on the quantity at market; it being an absolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other, great scarcity and a low price, can exist at one and the same time. That sugar, like other commodities, is sometimes bought up in Great Britain by engrossers on speculation, may be very possible; but this is a traffic in which as neither the planters in the West Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, so neither are they answerable for any consequences arising from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, the evil has sometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleased the Almighty to lay waste the sugar islands by a succession of tremendous hurricanes, it was reasonable to expect that the reduced state of their exports, would enhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be said that the consumer of sugar reimbursed, in some degree, the charges and expences of its culture and transportation, and the duties which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the best) which the sugar planters could receive; but if, from some occasional increase of price on such emergencies, they are made subject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, because the consumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the devastations of the elements are only the lesser evil.

Admitting

Admitting however that the consumer really C H A P. does, in a great many cases, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently in his power to force his own price; who does not see, as an inevitable consequence, that a decrease in the consumption will soon bring the price back to its level? The products of the West Indies are rather among the luxuries than the necessaries of life, and the great consumption of sugar especially, is with the middle and lower classes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aside when reasons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only enquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muscovado sugar, in consequence of the calamities that have been stated, and from captures in war, rose suddenly one-fourth in value: He will find that the diminution in the consumption in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater relative proportion;—a more fatal symptom cannot attend any branch of commerce.

If the arguments which have thus been stated are not sufficient in themselves to justify the remonstrances which the planters of the West Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge against the increase of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which must convince the most selfish and incredulous.

The instance of indigo has been mentioned already; and it cannot be repeated too often.—The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have since complained of those on sugar, and they were told then, as they are constantly told in other cases, that the duties fell ultimately on the consumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, saw, and

BOOK and acknowledged its error ; but the remedy was VI. applied too late ; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the consumer, instead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all dispute, had never been wrested out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furnishes another instance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may seem that an article which our own colonies can raise in the greatest plenty and perfection, should be subject to a higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or coffee might have supplied;) such however was the case even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at present ! The consequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the consumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was precisely the same ; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation ; or if in exacting a living profit, he lost his customers, because they could no longer afford to purchase, his situation became equally distressing ; until necessity compelled him to change his system, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao, which once constituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and suppressed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have elsewhere observed, that there is not at this day a single cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the island to the other.

The cultivation of ginger succeeded that of cacao, and met with a similar fate : but perhaps the instance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of ministers, because the proof which it affords, arises, not from what has been

been *lost* by impolitic taxation, but from what has C H A P. been *gained* by a prudent reduction of existing V. duties. In the one case, the lesson it affords is too mortifying to be acceptable: the other they will receive as a compliment to their wisdom. Having however stated the circumstance in a former part of this work, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here.

From the whole of what has been observed on the question of duties, this conclusion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine cases out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the British plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the colonist in the West Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the consumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth case, when the consumer pays them, *he ought to pay them*; inasmuch as all taxes should in justice press with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to sustain them; of which, in the case of taxable commodities, consumption is the criterion. To this consideration, must be added the well known and established axiom, that taxes paid by the public at large distribute themselves so equally on the whole, as eventually to raise the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himself for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be contemptuously told (for such has been the language of their adversaries) that they have *groaned without a grievance*. I have shewn that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if (apprehensive that the few valuable staple commodities which now remain

BOOK remain to them are in danger of being sacrificed,
VI. as others have been, to a system of impolitic taxation) they state their apprehensions to ministers, by a recital of plain facts, and a perseverance in well grounded complaints, it seems to me they are equally serving government, and defending their own rights and properties.—Supplies must necessarily be raised ; they admit it ; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object must stop, or it will not only defeat its own purpose, but have the effect also of endangering all former duties laid on the same object, by totally destroying its cultivation or manufacture. The subject now naturally leads me to the consideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of British plantation products, the second head of our present enquiries ; and as the principal of those products is sugar, I shall confine my remarks to that article.

The term Drawback, in the language of the Custom-house, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of *raw* sugar, and the word Bounty to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback sufficiently expresses its meaning ; for (excepting the gain to government by interest, in consequence of having had a deposit of the tax for some time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity wasted while the sugar continued in a British port) the original duty paid at importation, is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at present (including the last duty of 2s. 8d. laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is 15s. the hundred weight. But as to the *bounty*, the case was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave an

an actual premium on the export of refined sugar C H A P. in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the V. collective sums so refunded and paid, amounting together to 26s. the hundred weight, obtained generally the name of bounty; a name which is still retained, although in fact, since the last duty was laid, the extra sum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compensation for the duty which is paid on the extra quantity of raw sugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined, and lost by pilferage and waste, between the importation and day of sale, as will presently be demonstrated*.

Having

* The statute book denominates that species of refined sugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted, "Sugar in the loaf and whole, being nett." Upon the export of this sort of sugar the bounty was raised by the 5th George III. c. 45. to 14s. 6d. and a further bounty of 11s. 6d. was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26s. per cwt. and so it continues at present. The last bounty of 11s. 6d. was granted in consequence of an additional duty of 6s. per cwt. laid in 1781, on raw sugar imported, when Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he proposed the aforesaid bounty purposely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident, however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and casual; inasmuch as the export of refined sugar is altogether occasional, depending on the fluctuating state of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This consideration alone is a good reason why the bounty should be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by 31 Geo. III. c. 15. laid a further duty of 2s. 8d. per cwt. on raw sugar imported from the British plantations (appropriating the same, for the term of four years, towards the discharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15s. per cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3s. 4d. to the drawback, on what the statute calls *bastards, and ground or powdered sugar*; and also on *refined loaf broke into pieces*, and

BOOK VI. Having thus explained what is meant by the terms drawback and bounty, in the case of sugar exported, I shall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the colonist or importer, but of rigorous justice, and is founded on a strict and conscientious right which he possesses, and of which he cannot be deprived, so long as a sense of moral duty, and a regard to equal justice shall be found among the principles of a free government.

An importer of merchandize either comes voluntarily into our ports, to seek the best market for the sale of his goods; or is compelled to enter them, that the nation may secure to itself the pre-emption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties

and all sugar called *candy*. Upon the export of these species of sugar, the drawback, previous to the 31 Geo. III. stood at 1*s.* 8*d.* only, while the duty paid on raw sugar imported was 1*s.* 4*d.* and it being but just, that the drawback should at least be equal to the duty paid, 3*s.* 4*d.* was added in that act; which, with 1*s.* 8*d.* makes 1*s.* 15*d.* per cwt. the precise amount of the import duties paid since that act took place. The minister who moved the additional duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1791, proposed also at first to augment the bounty in the usual proportion; but the sugar refiners remonstrated against the measure, as being, they said, *beneficial only to the planters*. It is remarkable however that in the memorial which they presented on that occasion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they furnish an unanswerable argument in support of an actual *bonus* on the export from Great Britain of refined sugar; for they admit that a greater proportion of the refined article is now made from Muscovado than was formerly produced, owing, they say, to *improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity*. As those improvements were not effected but after many costly, and some fruitless, experiments, it seems no way consonant either to justice or reason that the refiners alone should reap the advantages of them, and the planters, who sustained the risk, sit down quietly under the expence.

to

to which, by the laws of the port, he will be subject ; he makes his option, and if he meets with disappointment, has no right to complain ; much less to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importation, in case he shall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ship his goods, and try another market. He comes in the spirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate ; so it is but reasonable that he should submit patiently to his loss, if loss is the consequence of his experiment. This conclusion is, I think, too evident to require illustration.

On the other hand, the case of those who are compelled to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The sugar planter, for instance, is not only obliged to bring his sugar at all times and seasons to a market which perhaps is already over-loaded ; but to bring it too in British ships, that the mother country may have the benefit arising from the freight. On the supposition that the whole may be sold for home consumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity imported, before he is permitted to sell any part. The home consumption is then supplied ; and a surplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaser, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain choose to pay an equal price : they have the first offer, and refusal of the whole.— Under what pretence then can the British government, whose language it is that all duties are, and ought to be, ultimately paid by the consumer, retain the duties on such part of the goods as are not purchased for the home supply ? The mother country has already received the benefit of the freight ; has had a preference in the sale of the

BOOK goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages
VI. from its importation ; and the owner has suffered
the inconveniency of advancing a large sum of
money for duties on goods which she refuses to
purchase,—an inconveniency of no small account,
inasmuch as, besides the loss of interest, should
the goods perish by fire, he would lose both his
goods and the duty ;—perhaps, as an interested
man, I am not competent to decide impartially on
this question ; but *to me*, it appears that a final
retention of the duties here spoken of, would be
an outrageous exercise of power, without a shadow
of right ; a proceeding in the highest degree un-
just, fraudulent, and oppressive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition
of the English duty, fifteen shillings *per cwt.*
if the money is not refunded, are taken from the
colonist, for having, against his will, and at a
great expence of freightage, sent his sugar cir-
cuitously through Great Britain. Such an extor-
tion for passing through a market to which he does
not voluntarily resort, is virtually fixing a forced
price upon the commodity ; and to do this, or by
force to take the commodity from him, without
giving any price for it—what is it, but an act of
the same nature, differing only in degrees of vio-
lence ?—The plea of necessity is not applicable
to the case ; the object not being, as in the case
of corn, a *necessary* but a *luxury* of life ; and the
colonists to whom it belongs, have no share in
the power of regulating, if regulations are to be
made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwise
the advantage of sometimes buying British planta-
tion sugar on cheaper terms than the people of
Great Britain, it is answered, that this is a cir-
cumstance for which the planter is no way respon-
sible,

sible, and in truth it is in itself but little to be C H A P. regarded ; since whenever it happens, the national gain is so much the greater ; because the kingdom profits much more by the quantity they purchased, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the same quantity had been consumed at home.—Government has no means in this case of taxing the consumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end. This objection therefore is nothing more than a complaint of the home consumer, *that the duties are too heavy* ; a complaint in which the planters, will readily concur *.

Hitherto,

* Since the foregoing was written, an act of the British legislature has passed, entitled, "An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty on the exportation of sugar, and for permitting the importation of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda Islands in foreign ships." Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign sugar and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en dépôt* in warehouses until re-exported, the planters of the British West Indies have no right to object to its provisions ; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the case is widely different. By this law it is enacted, that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or Muscovado sugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and published in the Gazette) shall exceed, in the six weeks which respectively precede the middle of February, June, and October, the amount of fifty shillings *per cwt.* (exclusive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* sugar exported is immediately to cease for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to cease during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month." Such is the outline of this act, on which what I have already said in the text, is perhaps a sufficient comment ; yet it may not be improper to take some notice of the great argument which was urged in support of the measure in the House of Commons ; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade system. But the corn trade law,

BOOK Hitherto, I have spoken of the drawback on
 VI. raw sugar only. I am now to shew that my ob-
 servations apply equally to that which is *refined* ;
 by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but
 little more than merely a modification of the
 drawback ; the money allowed beyond the original
 duty being an allowance not more than adequate
 to the loss of weight in the raw commodity
 for which the full duties have been paid by the
 importer, and the loss of interest thereon, between
 the time of the payment thereof, and the time of
 the receipt of the bounty.

The proportions of refined sugar, &c. procured
 by melting 112lbs. of raw sugar, have been as-
 certained by the committee of London refiners as
 follows, *viz.*

	lbs.
Refined sugar in loaves and lumps	$56\frac{5}{16}$
Bastard or ground sugar	$22\frac{5}{16}$
Melasses or treacle	$28\frac{5}{16}$
Scum and dirt	$4\frac{5}{16}$
	<hr/>
	112lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will stand as follows, *viz.*

	£. s. d.
On loaf sugar lbs. $56\frac{5}{16}$ at 26s.	— 13 — $\frac{1}{4}$
bastards — $22\frac{5}{16}$ at 15s.	— 2 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>
	— 16 —
Duty paid — — —	— 15 —
	<hr/>
Difference — — —	— 1 —
	<hr/>
	So

laws, though designed to reduce prices, are also contrived to encourage production. They therefore check exportation when the

So that the *apparent* loss to the revenue arising C H A P .
from the bounty, is one shilling the cwt. and no
more. But, as every hogshead of sugar loses con- V.
siderably in weight, after the duty is paid, and
before it is either exported or worked up, and
as by the present strict regulations respecting
tare, the duty is frequently paid for more sugar
than the casks really contain, it is but a moderate
calculation to say that every hogshead (taking
good sugars and bad together) loses 56 lbs. which
at 15s. per cwt. the import duty, makes 7s. 6d.
per hogshead loss to the planter, and a clear and
certain gain to the revenue; let the sugar be dis-
posed of as it may. Thus therefore is govern-
ment reimbursed for a considerable part of what
it appears to lose by the bounty, and the interest
which it gains by a deposit of the whole duties
on importation, makes up the remainder. The
average annual import of raw sugar is 'about
160,000 hogsheads of 12 cwt. net: now suppos-
ing every ounce of this was to be exported, and
receive the drawback of 15s. per cwt. yet from
the difference of weight alone in the same sugar,
occasioned by an unavoidable waste, government
would have received in duties, from this single
article, between £.50,000 and £.60,000 *per annum*
more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties
on the same commodity.

The above is a plain statement of facts con-
cerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by

the prices are high, and give a bounty on exportation when the
prices are low. If the sugar bill had been formed on the same
principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the com-
modity at a fair medium between the public and the planter, it
would have reduced the bounty when above the standard, and
taken off the home duty when below it, in such proportions
as to keep the balance even. In its present shape the act ope-
rates wholly against the planters.

government

BOOK government on the export of sugar from Great VI. Britain.—Of the system at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home consumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been said by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means establishes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which center in herself, she has no just reason to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to resort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different shape perhaps, but in more than a ten-fold proportion, with the other; and no considerate statesman will easily be persuaded to think such a system improvident and prejudicial.†

I am

† The present inspector general of the exports and imports, has given an opinion on the subject here treated of, which may be deemed singular. In his evidence before the House of Commons, he considers the supplying foreign markets with the surplus produce of our own plantations as a matter of no account; and thinks it just and proper to encourage our own islands *no further than to the extent of supplying ourselves*. He declares his opinion to be, that “the extension of the cultivation of the West Indian islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of their produce, is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire.” These are his words; and perhaps it may serve more useful purposes than the gratification of curiosity, to contrast them with the opinions of other men, who (if not of equal celebrity with Mr. Irving) were considered, in their day, to possess a considerable share of political and commercial knowledge.—Thus, in a tract by William Penn, entitled “The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies,” that celebrated legislator expresses himself in the following terms:

“ I deny the vulgar opinion against plantations, that they “ weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so “ strengthened

I am now brought to the third ground of ob- C H A P.
jection ; comprehending a subject of wider extent V.
and 

" strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: First,
" those that go into a foreign plantation, their industry there,
" is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of
" their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to
" those of this country: for instance, what is an improved
" acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in
" England? We know it is three times the value, and the
" product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in
" English growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia shews,
" that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thou-
" sand pounds weight of tobacco, and twenty barrels of corn
" yearly: he feeds himself, and brings as much of the com-
" modity into England besides, as being returned in the
" growth and workmanship of this country, is much more
" than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered,
" that the three thousand weight of tobacco brings in two
" thousand two-pences by way of custom to the king, which
" makes twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Se-
" condly, *more being produced and imported than we can spend*
" here, *we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings*
" *in money, or the growth of those countries, which is the same*
" *thing; and this is the advantage of the English merchants and*
" *seamen.*"

To the same purport writes Dr. Charles Davenant, who, if I mistake not, held the very same employment of inspector of the exports and imports which is now exercised with such superior ability by Mr. Irving. " By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (saith Doctor Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by so much, a gainer.* There is a limited stock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no passing. As for example, there is such a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own consumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewise a limited quantity of these goods which foreign consumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we should be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourselves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant states

BOOK and more important consideration, than either of
 VI. those which I have discussed in this chapter; and
 ~~~~~ on which, prejudice, self-interest, ignorance, and  
 misinformation, have jointly contributed to throw  
 a veil of obscurity; I mean the privilege which  
 is vested in the planters of the British West Indies,  
 of supplying the British market with their chief  
 staple commodities, in exclusion of foreigners;  
 the high duties on foreign sugars, and some other  
 products of the West Indies, operating (as they  
 were meant to do) so as to prohibit their importa-  
 tion.

The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime states of Europe, Great Britain among the rest, was, as I have elsewhere observed, *commercial monopoly*.—The word *monopoly*, in this case, admitted a very extensive interpretation. It com-

states the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at £.950,000 *per annum*, “whereof (saith he) £.350,000 being consumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, and the remainder, viz. £.600,000, being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.”

To the foregoing authorities might likewise be added those of the honest and intelligent Joshua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but perhaps, to a common understanding, the conclusion is too clear and self-evident to require illustration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products is just as beneficial to the British trade, as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother country, and equally increases the balance of trade in her favour*. I shall therefore only observe further, that the export of sugar alone from this kingdom for the supply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 cwt. of raw, and 278,391 cwt. of refined, which, at the rate of 45s. per cwt. for the raw, and of 90s. per cwt. for the refined, added £.1,600,000 sterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother country, and enabled her to pay more than one half the sum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the interest or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the British funds.

prehended

prehended the monopoly of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the mother country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured state, that her own manufacturers might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried so far in the colonial system of Great Britain, as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that the British Colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.*

As a compensation for these restrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother country, the colonists became possessed of certain commercial advantages; among the rest, of the privilege before-mentioned—the subject of our present discussion—that of an exclusive access to the British market for the sale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent staple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Britain, in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to establish. It was the basis of her commercial intercourse with her trans-atlantic plantations, and she terms it herself a system of “correspondence and kindness ‡.” Whether it was an arrangement founded in wisdom and sound

‡ Preamble to the 15th C. II. Ch. 7.

policy,

BOOK policy, it is now too late to enquire. It has existed, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the colonists have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. We have shewn its nature and origin; its magnitude remains yet to be stated. It is presumed that nothing more than this, is necessary to demonstrate that, if there is any security in the national faith, solemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the system is become a fixed and permanent *compact*; which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fullest compensation to the other, but on principles which, if admitted, may serve to justify a departure from the ordinary rules of justice on any occasion.

First then, as to the monopoly exercised by Great Britain of supplying their wants:—The colonists are prohibited from purchasing of foreigners, not only those articles which Great Britain can supply from her own resources, but also many which she is herself obliged to purchase from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered necessary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expence of which, and all other profits, being added to the cost of the goods, the extra price which the colonists pay is clearly so much profit to her, and loss to them. The commodities which the British colonies in the West Indies might purchase on cheaper terms than at the British market, are various. East Indian goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reasonably in America §.

§ The tea imported by the Americans in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 per cent. lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

Germany

Germany would supply the coarser linens, an article of vast consumption in negro clothing, and France would furnish soap and candles, silk manufactures of all kinds, cambrics, wines, and a thousand other articles of less importance. From the United States of America also might be obtained bar and pig iron, salted beef and pork, salted and pickled fish, train and spermaceti oil, and some few manufactures, as beaver hats, and spermaceti candles, &c. || All these, are articles of vast consumption, and are now supplied exclusively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immense amount, and in British vessels only; and so rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother country, that not only the convenience and necessities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful sacrifice has even been made to the system, of the lives of 15,000 of their miserable negroes, as the reader has elsewhere been informed!

On the same principle, to increase the shipping and naval power of the mother country, the colonists are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themselves of the cheapness and security of neutral bottoms, in sending their produce to the British market. By this second monopoly, Great Britain has secured to herself a preference of the whole world in the sale of their staple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of those nations from whom she was formerly supplied, (as the Portuguese for instance, who had the original monopoly of sugar) and over whose exports she has no controul. That this is an advantage of no small account, appears from the fol-

|| The export of salted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37s. sterling the barrel; of the beef 28s.

lowing

**B O O K** lowing circumstance recorded by the author of an  
 VI. *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations.* "About the  
 beginning of the present century (says that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper." It is surely unnecessary to observe, that no such selfish policy can at any time be displayed by the subordinate and dependent governments of the colonies.

But the circumstance that presses with the greatest weight on the British planters in the West Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reserving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all such improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw state, or first stage of manufacture, prohibits the colonists from refining their great staple commodity (sugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of £.4. 18s. 8d. *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf sugar imported, while raw or muscavado pays only 15s. The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (says the author before quoted) \* from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the West Indian planters have hitherto submitted without a murmur, considering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

\* *Wealth of Nations.*

The

The great hardship on the planters in this case C H A P. is, that the loss to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumstance is not fully understood, the subject not having, to my knowledge, been discussed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I shall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this restriction.

The first advantage would be an entire saving of the loss which is now sustained in the quantity of raw sugar, between the time of shipping in the West Indies, and the day of sale in Great Britain, arising chiefly from unavoidable waste at sea by drainage. To ascertain this loss with all possible exactness, I have compared, in a great many instances, the invoice weights taken at the time of shipping, with the sale weights of the same goods in the merchants books in London; and I will venture to fix the loss, on the average of good and bad sugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogshead of sugar weighing net 16 cwt. when shipped in Jamaica, shall, when sold in London, be found to weigh 14 cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loss both to the public and the planter. The former, lose the use of two hundred pounds weight of sugar, and the latter, is deprived of its value, which, at 40s. per cwt. may be stated at £.3 6s. per hogshead, the merchant's charges deducted.

Another saving to the planter would arise from the article of molasses, of which 112 lbs. of raw sugar yield in the London refinery  $28\frac{1}{4}$  lbs.: I will say 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogshead of raw sugar at the shipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued

at

BOOK at 9d. sterling per gallon, gives £.2 8s. It will  
VI. be said perhaps that the British refiner includes  
the value of the molasses produced in the refinery,  
in the estimate of his profits, and is thereby ena-  
bled to give a larger price for raw sugar to the  
planter, who thus receives payment for the article  
said to be lost. It must be remembered, however,  
that the sugar planter in the British West Indies is  
his own distiller; and having the necessary build-  
ings, stills, &c. already provided, would convert  
this molasses into rum, without any additional ex-  
pence; and by this means add to its value some-  
what more than one-third. This additional va-  
lue, therefore, would be clear profit. Thus al-  
lowing 64 gallons of molasses to produce only  
40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, these,  
at 1s. 10d. sterling the gallon, would yield £.3  
13s. 4d.: the difference is £.1 5s. 4d. which may  
therefore be estimated as the loss now sustained  
by the planter in the article of molasses, on every  
hogshead of muscavado sugar shipped to Great  
Britain.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added  
the saving of freight, on the difference between  
the weight of raw and refined sugar; but I will  
reckon nothing on this account, because I am of  
opinion that any given quantity of refined sugar  
made into loaves, though less in weight, will ne-  
vertheless occupy more space than the full quan-  
tity of raw sugar from which it is made. It is  
therefore reasonable to suppose, that the price of  
freight would be advanced in proportion; a cir-  
cumstance which ought to obviate all manner of  
objection to the system, from the owners of ships  
employed in its transportation.

But the great and decisive advantage that would  
accrue to the planter from refining his own sugar  
in

in the colonies, arises from the circumstance that C H A P. his capital, or stock, is already provided to his hands ; without which the savings that have been stated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he possesses the raw material, but also, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requisite for the manufacture of muscavado sugar, are, with a very small addition, all that are wanted for the business of refining \*. The necessary additions on each plantation would consist chiefly of a drying house, provided with stoves for baking the loaves, and an annual supply of earthen vessels or moulds in which the loaves are formed ; with the further provision of negro labourers to be employed solely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole must be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to ascertain some rule for judging of this with as much precision as the subject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will observe generally, that an allowance of forty shillings sterling for each hogshead of muscavado sugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This sum therefore I shall deduct from the difference of price at the British market between raw and refined sugar, which otherwise would be so much clear profit to the planter. The English refiner not having the same advan-

\* The planters of Jamaica frequently refine sugar for domestic use, and I have seen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a process has been discovered of refining muscavado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great success. I saw myself refined sugar made by him at Hyde Hall Plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for transparency and elegance surpassed the finest treble refined produced by the London refiners.

tages,

BOOK tages, has to deduct the interest of a much larger  
VI. proportionate capital, and far greater expences  
in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs.  
of raw sugar sold in London may be reckoned,  
when the prices are favourable, to yield the plan-  
ter clear of all charges £.1 13s. The same quan-  
tity refined, would yield of loaves and bastards to  
the value of £.2 1s. 5d. exclusive of the maelafies.  
The difference is 8s. 5d. per hundred weight, or £.5  
17s. 10d. the hogshead of 14 cwt. Deduct from  
this the extra expence of refining in the colony  
(40s. per hogshead) there remains £.3. 17s. 10d.  
which being added to the former sums, it will be  
found that the whole loss sustained by the planter  
for the sake of the British refinery, is not less than  
£.8 9s. 2d. sterling on every hogshead of his sugar  
of 16 cwt. which he sends to the English  
market. Perhaps the circumstance may come  
more immediately home to the reader, by shew-  
ing how this loss affects an individual. For in-  
stance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's  
plantations, are, if I mistake not, about two  
thousand hogsheads of sugar annually. He sus-  
tains therefore a loss of £.16,916 13s. 4d. per  
*annum*, that the British refiners may get about  
one-third of the money!

It is however to be remembered, that the pre-  
ceding calculations are founded on the supposition  
that leave was granted to import refined sugar in-  
to Great Britain from the British colonies at the  
same duties which are now paid on raw or mus-  
cavado. I am apprized that the revenue would,  
in that case, sustain a loss proportionate to the  
diminution in the quantity of sugar imported,  
unless it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made  
up by an adequate increase of the duties on the  
improved commodity. With every allowance  
however

however on this account (as well as for an increased rate of freight) the planter's profits would be sufficiently great; and in truth, refined sugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely such a rateable contribution; so that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved by its importation, while the public at large would obtain sugar in its best state much cheaper than they obtain it at present \*.

C H A P.

V.

Thus

\* My business is not to seek out resources for increasing the public revenue, but as a matter of curiosity, I beg leave to subjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muscavado sugar imported from the British plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the gross duty paid thereon was £.1,187,774. 12s. 8d. If this sugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been lost at sea by drainage! This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which, according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of bastards (excluding fractions). Now supposing the duty on loaf sugar had been only 10s. per cwt. more than the present duty on muscavado (which it would have well afforded) and the bastard sugar to have continued at 15s. per cwt. the British revenue in that case would have received as follows: (both the public and the planter being at the same time benefited in a high degree) viz.

|                                                                       | £. s. d.                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf - at 25s.<br>per cwt.                       | 1,354,303 15 —                  |
| 425,638 cwt. of bastards, at 15s.<br>per cwt. , -                     | <u>319,228 10 —</u>             |
| Duties which might have been levied<br>Duties actually paid in 1787 - | 1,673,532 5 —<br>1,187,774 12 8 |
| Difference in favour of the revenue                                   | <u>485,757 12 4</u>             |

Such is the sacrifice which is made by the planters of the West Indies, and the public of Great Britain, in supporting  
VOL. II. F f the

BOOK Thus have I shewn the magnitude of the price  
 VI. at which the British colonists in the West Indies  
 have purchased, for a century past, the monopoly  
 of the British market for their chief staple com-  
 modities. It is monopoly for monopoly ; an ar-  
 rangement not framed by the colonies, but by  
 the mother country herself, who has suffered it  
 to grow sacred by time, has recognized it by a  
 multitude of laws, and enforced it by stricter  
 ties and recent provisions. Well therefore did

the private interests of that useless intermediate body of people the sugar refiners in England ; who, whenever the casualties of war, or providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, and thereby created a temporary advance in the price of raw sugar, have been the first to raise a clamour against the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the planters, themselves at the same time possessing the monopoly which I have described ! It may not be useless to add, that those people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of trade, *foreigners* ; who live in the most frugal way in England (about one thousand in the whole) and retire with their savings to their own country. There are few operations more simple or which require a less expensive apparatus, than that of refining sugar. Can it then be just or reasonable to sacrifice to a manufacture, thus subordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the essential interests of 65,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually lost to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be supported ? It is remarkable that the same observation occurred to Davenant, who wrote soon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the West Indies, he proceeds in these words : " And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high imposition laid upon refined sugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the industry of at least 14,000 persons, which are about the number of those who inhabit our islands producing sugar." (Davenant, *Discourse 3, on the Plantation Trade.*) What would this author have said, had he known the facts which I have stated above ?

a great

a great statesman \* observe, " that it was a compact more solemn than any that an act of parliament could create ;" and when speculative men assert, and interested men complain, that a compact thus founded and supported is at this time not sufficiently favourable to Great Britain ; the answer is obvious. If Great Britain regrets its operation and wishes to dissolve it, let her first make compensation to the colonists for all that they have undertaken, and the sacrifice they have made, under it ; and next, when she releases herself from all future obligation to observe it, let the release be reciprocal ; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the colonists will have no cause to accuse her of injustice, —but this not done, they will assert that she has violated her faith with them ; that her conduct is oppressive and fraudulent ; and her statutes snares to the unwary.

In the mean time, it is impossible not to consider as exceedingly partial and unjust, those clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of West Indian products, the public discontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our sugar islands. They are partial, inasmuch as they consider the burthens and wants of the consumers on one side, without adverting to the burthens and distresses of the colonists on the other. They are unjust, as their manifest aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whose trade is not subject to be controlled by British laws, those advantages which have been purchased by, and stand exclusively pledged to, the British West Indies, whose trade is still to be left bound by our regulations.—At this juncture indeed, now that

\* Mr. Fox.

BOOK the largeness of the exportation has demonstrated, VI. that no foreign colonies in the West Indies can supply us with sugar, cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extensive mischief, is resorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vast and profitable sugar culture, under the fostering protection of government, in the boundless regions of the East Indies. Those plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which, from proximity and insular situation, are easily defended; which enrich our manufacturers, encourage our fisheries, and return all their acquirements into the bosom of their alienated parent, are it seems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to distant independent countries, whose inhabitants purchase but few of our commodities, and consume none of our fish, but take bullion instead of them; who rather send manufactures to our markets, than receive them from us; and whose exports may be checked and controuled by a thousand accidents which at this distance can neither be obviated nor foreseen. In short, by recommending the settlement of sugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wise to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the sword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to resort back to our ruined and deserted colonies in the West Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this scheme is to open a sugar trade with the East Indies, to British subjects without distinction, it is necessary he should be informed that nothing is farther

farther from the thoughts of its advocates and C H A P. promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the West Indies, to the monopolists of the East ; being well apprized that a great importation of sugar for a few years from India, would effectually stop the cultivation of this article in the British colonies, after which the market would be their own ; and the supply, as in the case of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be encreased or diminished, as the interest of the importer, not of the public, should regulate and direct.

V.

For myself, I am unwilling to believe that the British government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the sugar islands, and therefore cannot be persuaded that such a project will ever receive the sanction and support of administration. The planters however, judging of the future by the past, have abundant cause for anxiety and alarm ; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly West Indian to expostulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's ministers on the treatment which those colonies have experienced from the mother country during the last twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might display a statement of facts,—unpleasant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a person might, without any deviation from truth, present them with a detail not unlike the following \* :

“ It is well known (he might say) that the sufferings of those colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great ; and that at the conclusion of the war, such of the planters as survived the vexations of the enemy, and were

\* See an exceeding well-written pamphlet, entitled *The Case of the Sugar Colonies*, from whence this detail is copied almost verbatim.

BOOK not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great  
VI. many were, were reduced to embarrassments nearly  
approaching to it. For the honour of the British name it ought to be recorded, that no sooner was an island taken from under the British protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purposes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your vessels of war cruized upon them, and made prize of our effects wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection against your depredations ; until the highest authorities in the law had pronounced such conduct to be illegal ; and parliament interfered to facilitate the passage of the products of Grenada, which having suffered at discretion, were still exposed to capture. Even the hurricane, that most awful visitation of Providence, which usually arrests the vengeance of men, and by exciting softer affections, disposes them to acts of fraternity, lost its usual effect of procuring a passage even for the necessities of life ; and those whom the storm had spared, your rapacity would have starved.

“ The war ceased, and with it the dominion of France over all the islands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity) ; but our miseries still survived ; for the treaty of eighty-two, which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hostilities to the sugar colonies ; as they have never ceased from that time to the present, to be harrassed with vexations of one kind or another. The first measure by which they were annoyed, arose in the policy of the state. It was thought necessary to dissolve their connexion with the continent. The consequence of which was, that Jamaica being deprived of its produce of negro provisions by a series of tempests

pests and unfavourable seasons, lost fifteen thousand of her slaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity as if it were a national virtue !

“ What since has been the disposition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular conversation at this day ; from the conduct of large bodies associated for the abolition of the slave trade, and ultimately of slavery itself ; from the establishments projected and in execution, on the coast of Africa, with views declaredly hostile to our interests ; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily issue from the press to prejudice the West Indian planters in the public opinion ; from the indefatigable circulation of addresses, exhorting the people to the disuse of West Indian sugar ; and lastly, from various proposals with respect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In so many shapes does this spirit manifest itself, as to give just grounds to conclude, that something like a decided purpose is entertained for the total ruin of the sugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the system which is to be consummated by the grand measure of raising of rivals to our monopoly in your establishments in the east.

“ It has been imputed as a reproach to the sugar colonies, that they are expensive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the West Indian colonies the cause of war ; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cause it may arise, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war ; they are the victims, but never the origin of the test. The inhabitants of the French and English islands live in an habitual intercourse of good offices,

BOOK offices, and would wish for eternal peace; and  
VI. they have reason for it, for what are they to gain  
by war?

“ When, therefore, we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the West Indian planters, we find ourselves totally at a loss to conjecture what it is that could excite so much acrimony against us; as there exists none of those causes, which usually provoke the envy of men, and exasperate their malignity. The West Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantic opulence, or an ostentatious display of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and insignificance into conspicuous notice. Such of them as possess fortunes of distinguished magnitude, as some gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earliest records of the island, and their adventures were coeval with the first establishment of the colony, and of course their properties, such as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of successive generations. Many there are, indeed, who have competencies that enable them to live with œconomy, in this country; but the great mass are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments. Such are the times which we have lately seen, that if suffered to continue, might possibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their distresses. But it seems that poverty is considered as the legitimate heritage of every West Indian planter. They may encounter loss, and struggle with adversity; but never are they to profit of contingencies

gencies that may enable them to repair the disaf- C H A P.  
ters of adverse fortune, to which they are pecu- V.  
liarily subjected by their position.

“ If the minister means the ruin of the West Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extensive cultivation of the sugar cane in the East Indies, with a view to the supply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppose to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our resentments important; but it would be a base deseration of interest, to suffer ourselves to be intimidated into a voluntary surrender of right. We protest therefore against any innovation, and adhere to the system of double monopoly: There we are at anchor; and if there is no security anywhere against the storms and afflictions of Providence, so neither is there against the injustice of men; but we shall at least have the consolation of not suffering the reproaches of our own bosoms, or of leaving accusers in our posterity!”

To such a remonstrance as the foregoing, respectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to say, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wish or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehensions on that head may be easily removed. In this important business satisfaction being given, to the rest, if candour were to dictate an answer, although much must be admitted, much too might be said, and honestly said, to soften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harsh and unkind the conduct of the mother country has occasionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they possess; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion

BOOK gion and liberty; deriving from her parental soli-  
 VI. citude and powerful protection, every circum-  
 stance that renders them prosperous in themselves,  
 and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and  
 destructive war which terminated in the dismem-  
 berment of the empire, they had their share—  
 perhaps more than their share—of the general ca-  
 lamity, they will not forget that all of them that  
 had suffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were  
 restored by the peace to the blessings of a British  
 constitution and government. Perhaps, since  
 that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous  
 freedom, might in some points have been wished  
 and expected; but it should be remembered, that  
 they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compen-  
 sation for commercial restraint, the privilege of  
 the British market, and the benefit of the British  
 capital. They possess too, every characteristic mark  
 of a free people in their internal concerns. They  
 are taxed solely by their own representatives, and  
 have not the image, but the substance also, of an  
 English constitution. This whole state of com-  
 mercial servitude and civil liberty (as a great writer\*  
 hath well observed) taken together, though cer-  
 tainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with  
 the ordinary circumstances of human nature, may  
 be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenuous, I trust I need  
 not offer any apology for thus having, in the  
 conclusion of my book, suggested considerations,  
 which may tend to obviate misapprehensions,  
 remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between  
 those, who though divided by local situation, are  
 allied to each other by the dearest ties of interest,  
 affection, and consanguinity. I have thought this  
 the more necessary, as it appears, by the bitter-

\* Mr. Burke.

ness and acrimony with which some men speak of the sugar colonies, that their aim is to instigate the national resentment, and heighten the public animosity towards them. Instead of manifesting a disposition, "fond to spread friendships and to cover heats," these gentlemen seem to me to exert their talents in misrepresentations, which can answer no other end than to set the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of those fanatical writings on slavery and the slave trade, which, equally disgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the most daring and outrageous falsehoods without scruple or shame. I allude to authors of a very different stamp; to persons who, having the means of better information, and possessing abilities to influence the public opinion, have suffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man personally interested in the welfare of the sugar colonies, I have attempted, by displaying their importance and value, to point out the wisdom and necessity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindness on the one side, I have, as a loyal and dutiful subject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the colonists reflect soberly, I am persuaded they will perceive that, in a contest with the mother country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may dispose to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the strength, prosperity, and glory of Great Britain!

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

A P P E N-





## A P P E N D I X

TO

VOLUME THE SECOND.



## A P P E N D I X.

THE Report of a Committee of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, of which the following is an abridgement, was received by the author after a great part of this work was printed off. This abstract is now added, because it contains much valuable and authentic information concerning most of the subjects discussed in this volume. The subsequent tables are subjoined for the same reason. Of these, the *first* and *second* are taken from a late publication by the East India Company, and are therein said to have been furnished by the inspector general of the customs of Great Britain. The *third* is a continuation of the *second*, somewhat differently arranged, in order that a state of the sugar trade, the refinery, &c. and the home consumption of that article, during four years preceding the late war, and four years since its termination, may be seen at one view. The *fourth* and *fifth* are the more valuable, as they contain official information which is not to be procured at any public department

## APPENDIX.

in Great Britain. For these last-mentioned documents I am indebted to the kindness of John Forbes, Esquire, a very distinguished member of the House of Commons of Ireland ; to whose noble and patriotic exertion it is, in a great degree, owing that the trade is now free and open in a direct intercourse between that Kingdom and the British colonies in the West Indies ; a trade which every good subject must rejoice to perceive is daily increasing, inasmuch as that commerce which is reciprocally beneficial to her dependencies, cannot fail ultimately to promote the general wealth of the mother country.

JAMAICA,

## JAMAICA, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

VENERIS, 23° die Novembris, 1792.

**M**R. Shirley, from the committee appointed to enquire into, and report to the house, the state of the sugar trade, and the effect which an act, passed during the last session of parliament, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of sugar; and for permitting the importation of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda islands, in foreign ships*, is likely to have on the said sugar trade; to enquire into the consequences that may follow an abolition of the slave-trade; &c. &c. reported as follows:

THAT, in obedience to the order of the house, they had proceeded to collect the best information that could be obtained, to enable them to judge of the effects that must necessarily arise from the operations of an act evidently calculated to prevent the price of sugar exceeding a certain standard; for which purpose the committee thought it proper to compare together two periods of time, in which the West India colonies enjoyed the blessings of peace, and in which the quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the West Indies was nearly the same, but its value very different. The first period comprehends the term of four years, *viz.* 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, (it was not till the beginning of 1776 that the American privateers began to seize West India ships); the second commences with 1788, and includes the three subsequent years: During both these periods, none of the sugar colonies were afflicted with hurricanes; in the former, the importation of sugar into Great Britain amounted to 3,921,781 *cwt.* from Jamaica, and to 3,762,804 *cwt.* from the rest of the sugar colonies; and in the latter to 5,130,085 *cwt.* from this island,

island, and to 2,563,228 *cwt.* from the rest of the islands.

And it appears from the reports of the lords of the committee of council, submitted to his majesty's consideration, that the quantity of tonnage of British vessels that have cleared outwards from Jamaica alone to all the parts of the world, between the 5th of January 1787 and 5th of January 1788, amounted to 85,788 tons; and from the books of the receiver general of this island, it appears that, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December 1791, it has been 138,149 tons; an increase, in the space of three years, of 52,361 tons, of the utmost importance to the navigation of Great Britain, giving employment to 5,700 additional seamen.

Many circumstances were favourable to this island during the first period, particularly the price of slaves, which, upon an average of 29 cargoes, was 34*l.* 10*s.* 3*½d.* sterling *per head*, whereas during the latter it has been 47*l.* 2*s.* 6*½d.* and is now 59*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* an advance of 71 *per cent.* the natural consequence of which is, that hired labour has risen from 14*d.* to 21*d.* sterling *per day*. During the same period, the price of lumber from America has increased 37 *per cent.* salted beef from Ireland 22*½*, and salted pork 10 *per cent.* and in regard to that most essential article of consumption, herrings, (with which our negroes must be fed), the advance is no less than 66 *per cent.*

Notwithstanding so considerable an advance in the price of herrings, the committee perceive, by an account returned by the naval officer, that during the first period 76,168 barrels were imported, and that during the latter the importation amounted to 169,051 barrels.

The committee have further to state that, in consequence of the scarcity of wood in many parts of the island, a number of sugar estates are obliged to import fuel from Great Britain; whereby the collieries are benefited, and the British navigation encouraged.

Among other circumstances, likewise, which occurred in these two periods, favourable to the first, it appears, from

from the minutes of the house, that the taxes raised in this Island in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, amounted to 111,422*l.* os. 8*½d.* sterling, which, on an average, is 27,855*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* each year; whereas, in the latter period, the contingent expences of government have increased so enormously, that it has been necessary to provide, for the last four years, no less a sum than 409,312*l.* 17*s.* 1*½d.* sterling, which, for one year, is 102,328*l.* 4*s.* 3*½d.* independent of the revenue granted to the crown in 1728. To this must now be added, the British pay and subsistence of the 20th light dragoons, and the pay and subsistence of the privates of the 16th and 20th regiments, lately arrived from Halifax, which, with the island subsistence, and the building of barracks, may altogether exceed 45,000*l.* sterling.

The Committee, having enquired into the difference of the expences that attended the cultivation of sugar estates between the first and the second period, endeavoured to procure the best account of the price of sugars at British markets, and of the balance remaining in the hands of the British factors, at the disposal of the sugar planters, after deducting from the gross sales the duties, the insurance, the freight, commissions, and other charges of sale, together with the amount of the supplies annually exported from different ports in Great Britain and Ireland for the support of their estates; for which purpose they applied to Mr. Taylor, a member of this committee, and requested that he would direct his clerks to extract from his books the sales, not only of his own sugars, but of those made on estates entrusted to his care.

By those accounts it appears, that his factors in Great Britain sold, during the first period, 4,018 hogsheads, weighing 51,634 *cwt.* on an average of 34*s.* 8*d.* *per cwt.* and that, during the last period, they sold 5,314 hogsheads and 10 tierces, weighing 76,365 *cwt.* on an average of 58*s.* 7*d.* *per cwt.* and that the balance at the disposal of the sugar planters, after all deductions made, was 18*s.* 4*½d.* *per cwt.* during the first, and 32*s.* 2*d.* during the latter period.

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And here the committee cannot but point out to the house the extraordinary advantages resulting to the parent state from the culture of canes in the West Indies; for the above calculations clearly shew, that when sugars were selling at 34s. 8d. Great Britain received out of the sales, for duties, supplies, insurance, freight, and charges, 16s. 3½d. for each hundred weight so imported and sold; and when selling at 58s. 7d. no less than 26s. 5d. per cwt. and as the imports of sugar into Great Britain from the British West India islands have amounted, on an average of the last four years, to 1,923,328 cwt. it must be evident (though at first sight it may appear hardly credible), that Great Britain has received annually, from the amount of the gross sales of sugars, and the purchase of supplies, 2,983,161. 9s. 4d. sterling, besides the benefits that result to her monied men from an interest of 6 per cent. and to her farmers and manufacturers from the profits of the sugar planters, which ultimately center in Great Britain, or are expended in improvements here.

The committee have included in the above calculations the duties, amounting to 1,442,490l. sterling; for though it may be alledged, that the revenue of Great Britain might derive the same advantages from an importation of sugars from any foreign colony, yet the account of sales of the factors in Great Britain prove that the duties are paid by the planters; that the factors not only deduct it out of the gross sales, but even charge an interest on it until the sugars are paid for by the purchasers; and that it depends on the price sugars sell at, whether the planter shall be reimbursed or not.

The committee having been able to state to the house the price of sugars, and the balance at the disposal of the planters in the hands of their factors in Great Britain, during these two periods of time, it remains to shew the effects that these circumstances have had here.

The committee find that, during the first period, there were 775 sugar estates in Jamaica, exporting to Great Britain annually 76,897 hogsheads, which weighed at the

the home markets 980,436 cwt. and the balance at the disposal of the planters being 18s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cwt. these 76,897 hogsheads neated 900,775*l.* 11s. 6d. sterling.

It is well known that the sugar exported from hence to America (amounting, during the first period, to 408 hogsheads each year), and what is sold here for the consumption of the island, together with the rum, do not defray all the expences attending sugar estates, if the purchase of slaves and the payment of taxes for the support of government are to be added to it. The sugar planter must draw bills of exchange for these two articles on account of the balance stated above to be at his disposal in Great Britain.

On a very low calculation, and upon a general average, sugar estates in Jamaica require an annual supply of six slaves each, to keep up the health, the strength, and the number of its labourers. A gang of new negroes affords at first a great proportion of workers; but when they become old and infirm, and when the number of children increases, either new slaves must be bought, the old ones over-worked, or the produce of the estate be considerably reduced.

It is universally allowed, that two-thirds of the taxes are paid by the sugar estates.

These two articles being deducted from 900,775*l.* 11s. 6d. the committee find, that the sum of 726,992*l.* 2s. 4d. was the neat proceeds of 775 estates during the first period, being the whole that the sugar planters had to support themselves and families, to educate their children, to pay the interest of the advances made by their factors in Great Britain, and to discharge the principal: this being impracticable, what was the consequence? In the course of twenty years, one hundred and seventy-seven estates have been sold for the payment of debts, to the total ruin of many industrious men; fifty-five estates have been thrown up; and ninety-two are still in the hands of creditors! And it appears, from the return made by the provost-marshall (who acts in Jamaica as sheriff of the island) that 80,021 executions, amount-

G g 2 ing

ing to 22,563,786*l.* sterling, have been lodged in his office, in the course of twenty years.

The four last years afford better prospects; for though the price of slaves, of lumber, salted beef, pork, and herrings, is considerably increased, and the taxes are much higher, yet the neat price of sugars to the planter having risen from 18*s.* 4*½d.* to 32*s.* 2*d.* *per cwt.* they have begun to pay their debts, and, in consequence of such payments, have got into better credit.—In the course of the last year, 2,181 executions only were lodged in the office of the provost-marshal, amounting to 569,724*l.* sterling, and the quantity of sugars imported into Great Britain has increased from 980,436 *cwt.* to 1,282,514 *cwt.* an increase of 302,078 *cwt.* The committee have further to observe, that 47 sugar estates are settling in this island.

This increase in the value of sugars has been occasioned, not so much by an increase of consumption in Great Britain and Ireland, as by a greater demand for foreign markets. It appears that Great Britain, during the years 1790 and 1791, exported 277,656 *cwt.* raw, and 278,391 *cwt.* refined sugars; which, at the rate of 45*s.* *per cwt.* for the raw, and 90*s.* *per cwt.* for the refined sugars, has added at least 1,600,000*l.* sterling to the balance of trade, in favour of the parent state.

And here it may not be improper to observe, that, from the operations of an act limiting the price of sugars to a certain standard, foreign refiners and grocers, not knowing whether the drawback, and payment of the bounty, will or will not be allowed, cannot depend on being supplied from the British markets; and should the sugars made in the British West India islands be thereby confined to the consumption of Great Britain and Ireland, the importation exceeding the consumption, the sugar planters will return again to that state of bankruptcy and ruin from which they are beginning to emerge.

The committee have further to observe, that the productions of the British West India islands are as much a part of, the national wealth, as if the same had come to

to the port of London from any part of Great Britain; that every acre of land turned into a state of cultivation by the industry of the colonists, is an increase of wealth to the parent state; that the profits of the planters center in Great Britain; for whatever price is paid for sugar that money is immediately repaid by the planters to their creditors, or laid out in Great Britain, or expended here in improvements, which ultimately enrich Great Britain; that the exports of sugars from Great Britain to foreign markets are as beneficial to the British trade as the exports of corn, or any other production of Great Britain; that it equally increases the balance of trade in its favour; that all wise nations have always considered an increase of wealth as much more essential than the increase of any specific tax; that an increase of wealth produces an increase of consumption, and, of course, renders every tax much more productive. And the committee beg leave to add, in proof of the strength of these arguments, that from Monsieur Arnould's account of the balance of the French trade at the time the revolution took place, it appears that France exported to Italy, Holland, Germany, and the Baltic, sugar and coffee, the productions of her West India islands, to such an amount, that she received the immense sum of 120 millions of livres annually from this branch of her commerce; and Monsieur Arnould adds, that, without it, the balance of trade would have been greatly against her,

The committee are of opinion that, these matters being properly stated to parliament, there can be no doubt that justice will be done to the British colonists; they therefore recommend to the house to instruct Mr. Fuller, the agent of Jamaica, to petition the house of commons, praying for the repeal of that part of the act passed last session, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of sugar, and for permitting the importation of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda islands, in foreign ships*, which regulates the exportation of sugars from Great Britain to foreign markets. As to the measure of opening free ports in the

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the Bahama and Bermuda islands for the importation of foreign sugars and coffee, the committee are of opinion, that as these sugars and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouses until re-exported, no great injury can arise from it to the British West India islands; and though there may be some danger that such a regulation may give considerable uneasiness to foreign states, particularly to France and Denmark, yet if the carrying trade of Great Britain can thereby be improved, it will increase the British navigation, and add to the security of this island.

The committee having enquired into the state of the sugar trade, proceeded to consider the consequences that may follow an abolition of the slave trade; and are of opinion, that it would not only put a stop to all further improvements in the culture of sugars and coffee, but that it would in time considerably reduce the quantity:

That it would gradually diminish the number of white inhabitants in the island, and thereby lessen its security:

And that it would cause bankruptcies, create discontents, and ultimately interrupt the peace and tranquillity, and affect the internal safety, of Jamaica; the consequences of which would be highly injurious to Great Britain, and fatal to this valuable island.

In order to prove that an abolition would considerably reduce the quantity of sugars and coffee, it is proper for the committee to shew, that the question of increase and decrease in the number of our slaves has not been considered in its true point of view. No doubt, there is a decrease, owing to the several causes that have been repeatedly urged; but it is not so much the decrease in number that requires a new supply of labourers, as the decrease of effective workers. There are many planters who actually possess more negroes than they had some years ago; and yet these planters will be obliged to reduce the culture of their lands, if the trade should be abolished.

For

For instance, the committee will suppose a planter settling with a gang of one hundred African slaves, all bought in the prime of life: Out of this gang he will be able at first to work, on an average, from eighty to ninety labourers. The committee will further suppose, that they increase in number; yet in the course of twenty years, this gang will so far be reduced in point of strength, that he will not be able to work more than from thirty to forty. It will, therefore, require a supply of fifty new negroes to keep up his estate; and that not owing to any cruelty, or want of good management on his part; on the contrary, the more humane he is, the greater number of old people and young children he will have on his estate. This decrease of culture will be gradual, and will not at first be materially felt; but, in the course of time, it will reduce the quantity of sugars and coffee exported to Great Britain by her own colonies so much, that she will be obliged to purchase, instead of selling, these articles at foreign markets, to the great benefit of other nations; who will not follow her example, but who will, on the contrary, encourage their sugar colonies, and extend their cultivation.

The committee have further to observe, with regard to the coffee planters, that it is only of late years that any progress has been made in the cultivation of this valuable article. During the first period, the whole of the exports did not exceed 2,114,842lbs. and were annually decreasing. In 1773 and 1774, the assembly of Jamaica gave great encouragement to the coffee planters, both by granting premiums, and by publishing every information that could be procured from those parts of the world where the cultivation of coffee was supposed to be best understood: But the committee do not find that such encouragements produced any effect. In 1783, the excise on coffee was reduced by parliament to 6d. per lb. and this alone appears to have given new life to its culture. During the second period, the exportation has been annually increasing, and in 1791 amounted to 2,999,874lbs. There are at present 607 coffee estates in Jamaica, employing 21,011 negroes. The greater number of these estates are only settling; and as it requires

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five years before coffee trees can be in full bearing, the committee are of opinion, that, in a few years, it will be an article of the first importance to Great Britain. Hispaniola produced, in 1789, 76,286,530 lbs. of coffee; which, at 90s. per cwt. is 3,432,893/. sterling; but it will take many years before this unfortunate colony can recover from the dreadful calamities she has been, and still continues to be, afflicted with; and as France, before the rebellion of the slaves at Hispaniola, exported to Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Dantzick, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, sugar and coffee to the amount of \* 55,000,000 of livres, the committee presume to think, that Great Britain, by encouraging her own coffee planters, has now a favourable opportunity of increasing the value of her exports to Russia; a most desirable object, as the balance of trade is considerably in favour of that empire.

The most numerous class of white inhabitants in Jamaica consist of the overseers, tradesmen, and book-keepers, employed on sugar estates, pens, and other settlements. It appears, from the returns of the different parishes, that there are now 767 sugar estates, including those that are settling, and 1,047 pens and settlements in coffee, cotton, and indigo, having each thirty slaves and upwards; and supposing that there are, upon an average, four white men on every sugar estate, and one on each pen and settlement, their numbers will be about 4,000. All the overseers and tradesmen, and a few of the book-keepers, save something out of their salaries; and they have no other way of laying out their money but in the purchase of slaves; whereby the tradesmen, if they are industrious, will in time be able to set up for themselves in business, and the overseers procure themselves to retire to when old and infirm. Should the abolition take place, these useful men will hoard up all they can save, and, when they have made up a small sum, they will remove, and probably settle in the United States of America.

The committee have further to observe, that, from the encouragement given to overseers, and the prospect

\* Vide Monsieur Arnould, *vol. II. p. 203.*

they

they have at present of independence, they are now in general a very respectable class of people; many being men of good families, and many having had the advantage of a liberal education: To this, in some measure, may be attributed the mild treatment of the slaves intrusted to their care; for manners have more influence on the morals of the people, than even the laws; such men were not to be had formerly; planters were obliged to hire the first white men they could find; and the committee presume to think, that the few persons worthy of credit who have given evidence in favour of the abolition, have formed their ideas of the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies, from what they might have formerly seen of the conduct of such men.

The committee having stated, that an abolition of the slave trade would depopulate the country, have further to observe, that the same cause would produce the same effect in the towns: Such merchants as have already acquired fortunes by trade, seeing no probability of employing their money to advantage in the purchase of lands in Jamaica, would quit the country, and carry away their capitals; and the traders and shopkeepers, losing their customers, would not be able to make their annual remittances, either to their correspondents or to the manufacturers in Britain.

The committee have now to consider the consequences of an abolition with respect to those who, having inherited, bought, or patented, unsettled lands, are now making every exertion to open and cultivate the same; and are of opinion, that these valuable men would thereby be thrown into a state of despair, because it would put it out of their power either to sell or improve their properties.

In such a situation, can there be a doubt that every effort will be made to smuggle slaves? Will not a man face every danger to save himself and his family from ruin? The island abounds with creeks and bays, where small-decked vessels may run in at any time; and, in order to prevent smuggling, a very considerable naval force must be stationed here, at an enormous expence. These

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These ships of war must keep the sea during the hurricane months : But, if this duty is to be left to the custom-house officers, unless they are supported by a military force, not one of them will be able to do their duty but at the risk of life ; and such will be the discontents of the people, from so severe a measure as an abolition of the slave trade, that the committee have reason to apprehend, that even a military force would prove ineffectual. The slaves, seeing the white people in a state of discord with each other, would do what the slaves have done at Hispaniola ; they would rebel, burn the estates, and destroy the inhabitants.

The committee will now suppose the seizure of a slave ship : What is to become of the cargo ? Are the negroes to be sent back to Africa ? If they are, what can be more cruel than to expose them, and the crews of the vessels, to the dangers of a second voyage, much more perilous and tedious than the first, and for which they would not be prepared ? But, if they are not to be sent back to Africa, and, on the contrary, to be landed here, these negroes will immediately become subject to the laws and regulations of Jamaica ; and the legislature of this island will never suffer a number of uncivilized men to be placed in a state of freedom, which would materially injure the safety of the country.

&c. &c. &c.

## T A B L E S

# T A B L E S

97

## West Indian Exports and Imports

TO AND FROM

**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**



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## T A B L E S, &c.

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### N U M B E R I.

An ACCOUNT of the VALUE of the WEST INDIA IMPORTS, according to the Custom-House Prices, imported in the following Years, viz.

| YEARS. | VALUE.    |
|--------|-----------|
| 1698   | £.629,533 |
| 1699   | 586,255   |
| 1700   | 824,246   |
| 1701   | 738,601   |
| 1702   | 476,168   |
| 1703   | 626,488   |
| 1704   | 489,906   |
| 1705   | 706,574   |
| 1706   | 537,744   |
| 1707   | 604,889   |
| 1708   | 592,750   |
| 1709   | 645,689   |
| 1710   | 780,505   |
| 1711   | 556,198   |
| 1712   | 648,190   |
| 1713   | 762,248   |
| 1714   | 843,390   |

T A B L E S, &c.

| YEARS. | — | — | — | — | VALUE.    |
|--------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1715   | — | — | — | — | £.999,412 |
| 1716   | — | — | — | — | 1,104,188 |
| 1717   | — | — | — | — | 1,204,057 |
| 1718   | — | — | — | — | 896,031   |
| 1719   | — | — | — | — | 875,358   |
| 1720   | — | — | — | — | 1,117,576 |
| 1721   | — | — | — | — | 852,529   |
| 1722   | — | — | — | — | 1,015,617 |
| 1723   | — | — | — | — | 1,087,254 |
| 1724   | — | — | — | — | 1,160,568 |
| 1725   | — | — | — | — | 1,359,185 |
| 1726   | — | — | — | — | 1,222,511 |
| 1727   | — | — | — | — | 1,039,513 |
| 1728   | — | — | — | — | 1,498,023 |
| 1729   | — | — | — | — | 1,515,421 |
| 1730   | — | — | — | — | 1,571,608 |
| 1731   | — | — | — | — | 1,310,580 |
| 1732   | — | — | — | — | 1,315,458 |
| 1733   | — | — | — | — | 1,618,013 |
| 1734   | — | — | — | — | 1,141,068 |
| 1735   | — | — | — | — | 1,460,609 |
| 1736   | — | — | — | — | 1,423,039 |
| 1737   | — | — | — | — | 946,423   |
| 1738   | — | — | — | — | 1,475,910 |
| 1739   | — | — | — | — | 1,566,838 |
| 1740   | — | — | — | — | 1,185,107 |
| 1741   | — | — | — | — | 1,402,986 |
| 1742   | — | — | — | — | 1,309,886 |
| 1743   | — | — | — | — | 1,404,610 |
| 1744   | — | — | — | — | 1,156,952 |
| 1745   | — | — | — | — | 1,024,097 |
| 1746   | — | — | — | — | 1,148,124 |
| 1747   | — | — | — | — | 941,116   |
| 1748   | — | — | — | — | 1,615,122 |
| 1749   | — | — | — | — | 1,478,075 |

T A B L E S, &c

| YEARS. | VALUE.    |
|--------|-----------|
| 1750   | 1,514,452 |
| 1751   | 1,444,775 |
| 1752   | 1,428,824 |
| 1753   | 1,838,137 |
| 1754   | 1,462,601 |
| 1755   | 1,867,256 |
| 1756   | 1,687,177 |
| 1757   | 1,906,147 |
| 1758   | 1,858,425 |
| 1759   | 1,833,646 |
| 1760   | 1,861,668 |
| 1761   | 1,953,622 |
| 1762   | 1,762,406 |
| 1763   | 2,254,231 |
| 1764   | 2,391,552 |
| 1765   | 2,196,549 |
| 1766   | 2,704,114 |
| 1767   | 2,690,673 |
| 1768   | 2,942,717 |
| 1769   | 2,686,714 |
| 1770   | 2,110,026 |
| 1771   | 2,979,378 |
| 1772   | 3,530,082 |
| 1773   | 2,902,407 |
| 1774   | 3,574,702 |
| 1775   | 3,688,795 |
| 1776   | 3,340,949 |
| 1777   | 2,840,802 |
| 1778   | 3,059,922 |
| 1779   | 2,836,489 |
| 1780   | 2,612,236 |
| 1781   | 2,023,546 |
| 1782   | 2,612,910 |
| 1783   | 2,820,387 |
| 1784   | 3,531,705 |

1785

T A B L E S, &c.

| YEARS. | — | — | — | VALUE.    |
|--------|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1785   | — | — | — | 4,400,956 |
| 1786   | — | — | — | 3,484,025 |
| 1787   | — | — | — | 3,758,087 |
| 1788   | — | — | — | 4,307,866 |
| 1789   | — | — | — | 3,917,301 |
| 1790   | — | — | — | 3,854,204 |

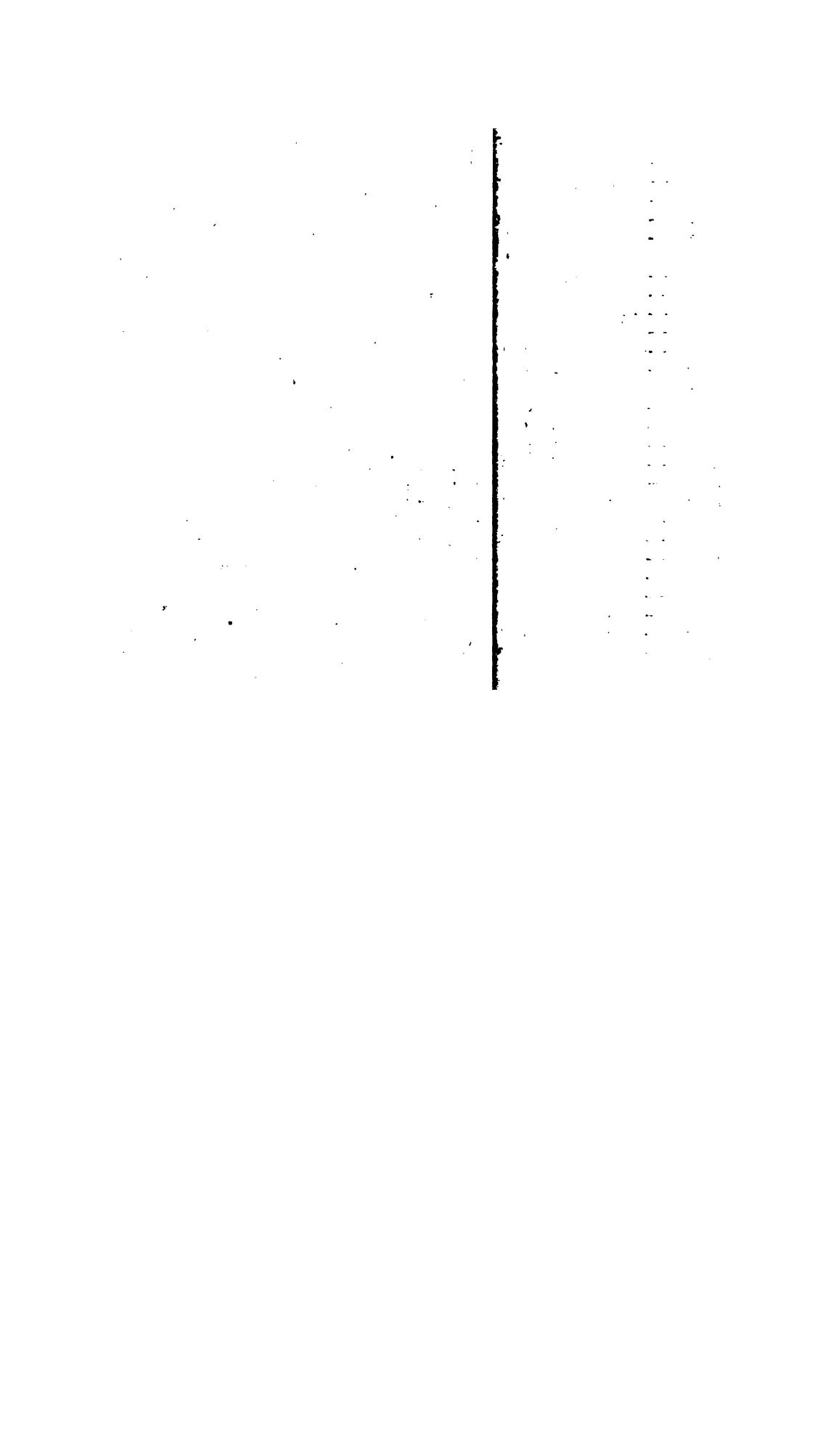
NUMBER II.

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,

JUN 22 1912

NUMB  
An ACCOUNT of the QUANTITY of BRITISH PLAN  
of January, 1699, and the 5th of January, 1755, and th  
AL  
An ACCOUNT, for the same Periods, of the QUANTITY  
ing each Year, and the

|      | Imported. | Raw Sugar Exported. |                |           | Refined Sugar Exported. |
|------|-----------|---------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------|
|      |           | QUANTITY.           | cwt. grs. lbs. | QUANTITY. | cwt. grs. lbs.          |
| 1699 | —         | 427,573             | 2 25           | 182,325   | 2 4                     |
| 1700 | —         | 489,326             | 1 7            | 165,391   | 3 16                    |
| 1701 | —         | 435,465             | 1 21           | 133,917   | 3 11                    |
| 1702 | —         | 259,062             | 3 6            | 45,036    | 1 5                     |
| 1703 | —         | 408,914             | 0 1            | 84,016    | 2 26                    |
| 1704 | —         | 315,837             | 2 12           | 133,713   | 1 8                     |
| 1705 | —         | 370,157             | 1 7            | 71,822    | 1 7                     |
| 1706 | —         | 335,873             | 3 3            | 107,217   | 0 16                    |
| 1707 | —         | 388,267             | 3 26           | 131,932   | 2 25                    |
| 1708 | —         | 377,107             | 2 11           | 64,180    | 3 6                     |
| 1709 | —         | 397,570             | 3 12           | 74,377    | 3 23                    |
| 1710 | —         | 507,662             | 1 21           | 117,075   | 2 5                     |
| 1711 | —         | 366,394             | 1 26           | 82,142    | 2 24                    |
| 1712 | —         | 423,541             | 0 1            | 119,567   | 1 8                     |
| 1713 | —         | 503,528             | 1 8            | 184,609   | 0 12                    |
| 1714 | —         | 512,221             | 3 0            | 158,996   | 3 6                     |
| 1715 | —         | 617,414             | 3 11           | 143,337   | 1 13                    |
| 1716 | —         | 684,759             | 2 16           | 161,941   | 3 3                     |
| 1717 | —         | 763,175             | 3 14           | 290,179   | 2 11                    |
| 1718 | —         | 566,885             | 0 1            | 124,375   | 1 13                    |
| 1719 | —         | 544,634             | 0 25           | 167,622   | 0 20                    |
| 1720 | —         | 706,385             | 3 20           | 121,778   | 0 9                     |
| 1721 | —         | 497,611             | 0 21           | 66,743    | 3 11                    |
| 1722 | —         | 616,941             | 0 9            | 83,609    | 2 5                     |
| 1723 | —         | 660,766             | 2 9            | 63,479    | 1 7                     |
| 1724 | —         | 729,133             | 2 13           | 110,088   | 1 11                    |
| 1725 | —         | 851,952             | 2 25           | 147,408   | 2 1                     |
| 1726 | —         | 668,346             | 1 9            | 146,915   | 3 22                    |
| 1727 | —         | 645,158             | 0 1            | 112,699   | 3 21                    |
| 1728 | —         | 972,240             | 0 1            | 210,320   | 3 23                    |
| 1729 | —         | 994,761             | 3 24           | 158,746   | 2 13                    |
| 1730 | —         | 1,024,078           | 2 3.           | 167,980   | 1 12                    |
| 1731 | —         | 818,277             | 1 12           | 95,832    | 0 1                     |
| 1732 | —         | 822,844             | 3 15           | 121,904   | 3 18                    |
| 1733 | —         | 1,001,784           | 2 0            | 103,274   | 0 5                     |
| 1734 | —         | 695,679             | 3 9            | 44,932    | 0 8                     |
| 1735 | —         | 903,634             | 2 22           | 69,899    | 2 25                    |



ACCOUNT of the TOTAL QUANTITY of SUGAR  
in lbs:

An ACCOUNT, for the same Periods, of the QUANT  
the  
Quantity exported to Ireland, and

|             | Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported. |      |      | Raw<br>lan<br>En |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------|------|------|------------------|
|             | cwt.                                           | grs. | lbs. |                  |
| 1772 ---    | 1,786,045                                      | 0    | 1    |                  |
| 1773 ---    | 1,762,387                                      | 3    | 15   |                  |
| 1774 ---    | 2,015,911                                      | 1    | 15   |                  |
| 1775 ---    | 2,002,224                                      | 3    | 8    |                  |
| Total - - - | 7,566,569                                      | 0    | 11   |                  |
| Average - - | 1,891,642                                      | 1    | 3    |                  |

The following shews the ANNUAL C

Imported.—RAW SUGAR on an Aver  
Exported.—RAW and REFINED, th

|             | Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported. |      |      | Raw<br>lan<br>En |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------|------|------|------------------|
|             | cwt.                                           | grs. | lbs. |                  |
| 1787 ---    | 1,926,121                                      | 0    | 3    |                  |
| 1788 ---    | 2,065,700                                      | 0    | 12   |                  |
| 1789 ---    | 1,935,223                                      | 2    | 21   |                  |
| 1790 ---    | 1,882,005                                      | 0    | 17   |                  |
| Total - - - | 7,809,049                                      | 3    | 25   |                  |
| Average - - | 1,952,262                                      | 1    | 27   |                  |

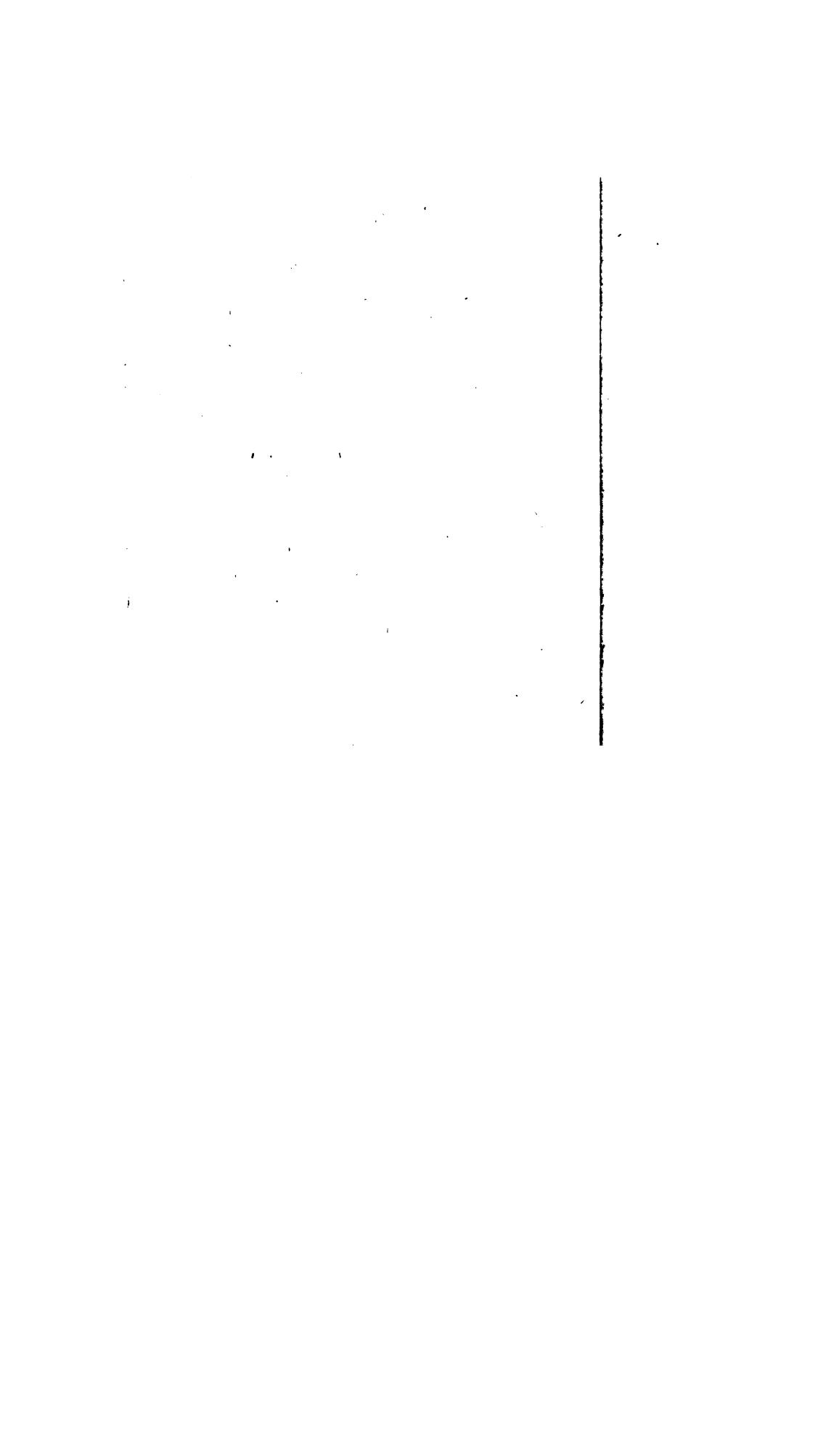
The following shews the ANNUAL C

Imported.—RAW SUGAR on an av  
Exported.—RAW and REFINED, th

Total of hc

|                                            |           |    |    |              |   |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|--------------|---|
| <i>Gross Duties received in 1787</i> — — — | 1,188,083 | 1  | 10 | <i>Gross</i> | 1 |
| Deduct Drawbacks £. 122,973                | 7         | 11 |    | Deduct       | 2 |
| Bounties — 93,301                          | 14        | 3  |    |              | 7 |
|                                            | 216,275   | 2  | 2  |              |   |

Net Produce — — — — — 971,807 19 8 Net  
Vol. II.



An.

| Denominations.                 | Year ending La- |            |              |             |            |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
|                                | Antigua.        | Barbadoes. | Jamaica.     | Montserrat. | Nevis.     |
| Ale - - - - Barrels.           | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Aquavita - - - - Gallons.      | —               | —          | 120          | —           | —          |
| Bacon. { Hams - Cwt. grs. lbs. | 144 3 21        | —          | 350 1 0      | —           | —          |
| Flitches - Flitches.           | 52              | —          | 102          | —           | —          |
| Beef - - - - Barrels.          | 3,213           | 2,806 1    | 15,012       | 24          | 39 1 1     |
| Beer - - - - Barrels.          | 120 1           | —          | 446          | —           | —          |
| Bread - - Cwt. grs. lbs.       | 92 0 14         | 64 0 0     | 500 0 14     | —           | 12 0 0     |
| Bullion - - - Ounces.          | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Butter - - Cwt. grs. lbs.      | 1,328 1         | 7,289 8 1  | 219,811 1 14 | 11 0 0      | 311 0 0 3, |
| Candles - - Cwt. grs. lbs.     | 226 2 0         | 363 0 21   | 590 1 0      | 1 2 0       | 98 0 0     |
| Cards, Playing Doz. Packs.     | —               | —          | 150          | —           | —          |
| Cheese - - Cwt. grs. lbs.      | 13 3 14         | 1 0 0      | 67 2 7       | —           | —          |
| Cordage - - Cwt. grs. lbs.     | 40 0 0          | —          | 60 0 0       | —           | —          |
| Cyder - - Tuns, Hhds. Gall.    | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Corn. { Barley - - Barrels.    | —               | —          | 6            | —           | —          |
| Beans - - Barrels.             | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Oats - - Barrels.              | 1,065           | 232        | 192          | —           | 573        |
| Pease - - Barrels.             | 1 1 2           | 19         | 10 1 2       | —           | —          |
| Wheat - - Barrels.             | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Drapery. { New - - Yards.      | 300             | 120        | 15,320       | —           | —          |
| Old - - Yards.                 | 750             | 720        | 143          | —           | —          |
| Feathers - - Cwt. grs. lbs.    | —               | 3 3 0      | —            | —           | —          |
| Fish. { Herrings - Barrels.    | 84              | 133 1      | 5,801        | 30          | —          |
| Ling - - Cwt. grs. lbs.        | 5 2 0           | 3 3 0      | 18 2 0       | —           | 0 1 15     |
| Salmon - - Tuns, Trs.          | 18 3            | 4 1        | 6 4 1        | 5 0         | —          |
| Flannel - - - Yards.           | —               | —          | 80           | —           | —          |
| Fustians - - - Yards.          | —               | —          | 296          | —           | —          |
| Glass. { Cases - - - No.       | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Drinking - - - Num.            | 7,902           | —          | 4,824        | —           | —          |
| Ware - - - Value.              | 216 19 0        | 9 16 0     | 248 3 0      | —           | —          |
| Gloves - - - Pairs.            | —               | —          | 156          | —           | —          |
| Groceries Small Parcels Val.   | 3 0 0 0         | —          | 8 10 0       | —           | —          |
| Haberdy. { Thread - Pounds.    | —               | 8          | —            | —           | —          |
| Small Parcels Value.           | —               | 1 16 0     | 22 13 0      | —           | —          |
| Hair. { Cows - Cwt. grs. lbs.  | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Horse - - Cwt. grs. lbs.       | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Hair Powder Cwt. grs. lbs.     | 13 0 7          | 6 0 0      | 17 0 0       | —           | 1 0 0      |
| Hardware - - - Value.          | —               | —          | —            | —           | —          |
| Hats - - - - Num.              | 450             | 500        | 144          | —           | —          |
| Hogs Lard - Cwt. grs. lbs.     | 8 2 0           | —          | —            | —           | —          |



| Denominations.                                      | Year ending |            |            |             |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|---|
|                                                     | Antigua.    | Barbadoes. | Jamaica.   | Montserrat. |   |
| Hides:                                              |             |            |            |             |   |
| Tanned - <i>Num.</i>                                | 10          | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Ditto - <i>Cwt. grs.</i>                            | —           | 7 3 21     | —          | —           | — |
| Untanned - <i>Num.</i>                              | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Horses - <i>No.</i>                                 | 35          | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Iron: <i>Wrought, Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                | 60 0 0      | —          | —          | 42 1 0      | — |
| Small Parcels, <i>Value.</i>                        | —           | 3 10 0     | 0          | 1 0 0       | — |
| Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - <i>Value.</i> | 1,362 15 4  | 794 10     | 3,002 10 3 | —           | — |
| Linen: <i>Yards.</i>                                | —           | —          | 3,563      | —           | — |
| Cloth Plain - <i>Yards.</i>                         | 177,873     | 86,492     | 590,990    | —           | — |
| Coloured - <i>Yards.</i>                            | 8,883       | 3,965      | 57,035     | —           | — |
| Flour - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                       | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Groats - <i>Barrels.</i>                            | —           | 10         | 8          | —           | — |
| Oatmeal, - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                    | 200 0 0     | 101 0 0    | 23 0 0     | —           | — |
| Millinery Ware - <i>Value.</i>                      | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Mutton - <i>Barrels.</i>                            | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Oil, Rape, - <i>Tuns, Hds. G.</i>                   | —           | —          | 0 0 24     | —           | — |
| Paper, Writing - <i>Reams.</i>                      | —           | 6          | 67         | —           | — |
| Pork - <i>Barrels.</i>                              | 2,022       | 3,617      | 9,378      | 10          | — |
| Saddlers Ware - <i>Value.</i>                       | 80 10 0     | 2 0 0      | 67 7 0     | —           | — |
| Salt - <i>Bushels.</i>                              | —           | —          | 156        | —           | — |
| Shoes - <i>Pounds.</i>                              | 787         | 1,20       | 1,062 1    | —           | — |
| Soap - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                        | 45 1 7      | 56 1 14    | 799 3 21 1 | 0           | — |
| Skins: <i>Calves - Doz. No.</i>                     | 4 0         | —          | 28 7       | —           | — |
| Goat - <i>Cwt. grs. No.</i>                         | —           | —          | 6 3 20     | —           | — |
| Stationary Ware - <i>Value.</i>                     | 13 15 0     | 7 13 0     | 47 6 9     | —           | — |
| Stockings: <i>Cotton - Pairs.</i>                   | —           | —          | 24         | —           | — |
| Thread - <i>Pairs.</i>                              | —           | —          | 108        | —           | — |
| Woollen - <i>Pairs.</i>                             | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Starch - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                      | 21 0 0      | —          | 17 0 0     | —           | — |
| Stone Blue -                                        | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Tallow - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                      | 7 9 14      | 22 1 0     | 216 3 0    | —           | — |
| Tongues - <i>Dozens.</i>                            | 394 6       | 238 10     | 1,046 10 3 | 0           | — |
| Upholstery Ware - <i>Value.</i>                     | —           | 28 0 0     | —          | —           | — |
| Wax Candles, - <i>Cwt. grs. lbs.</i>                | —           | —          | —          | —           | — |
| Small Parcels in general, <i>Value.</i>             | 158 10 1    | 103 3 5    | 348 15 3   | —           | — |

